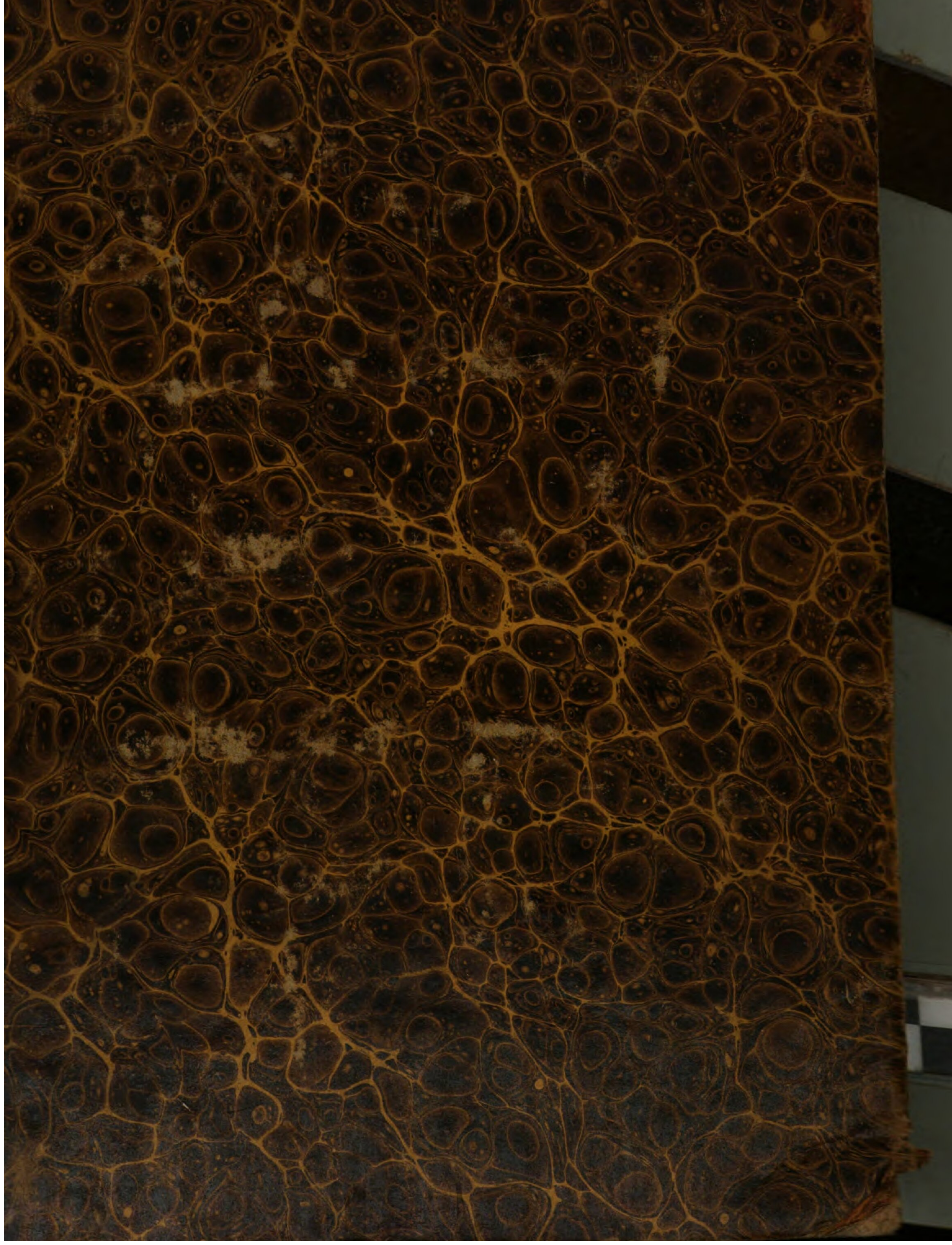


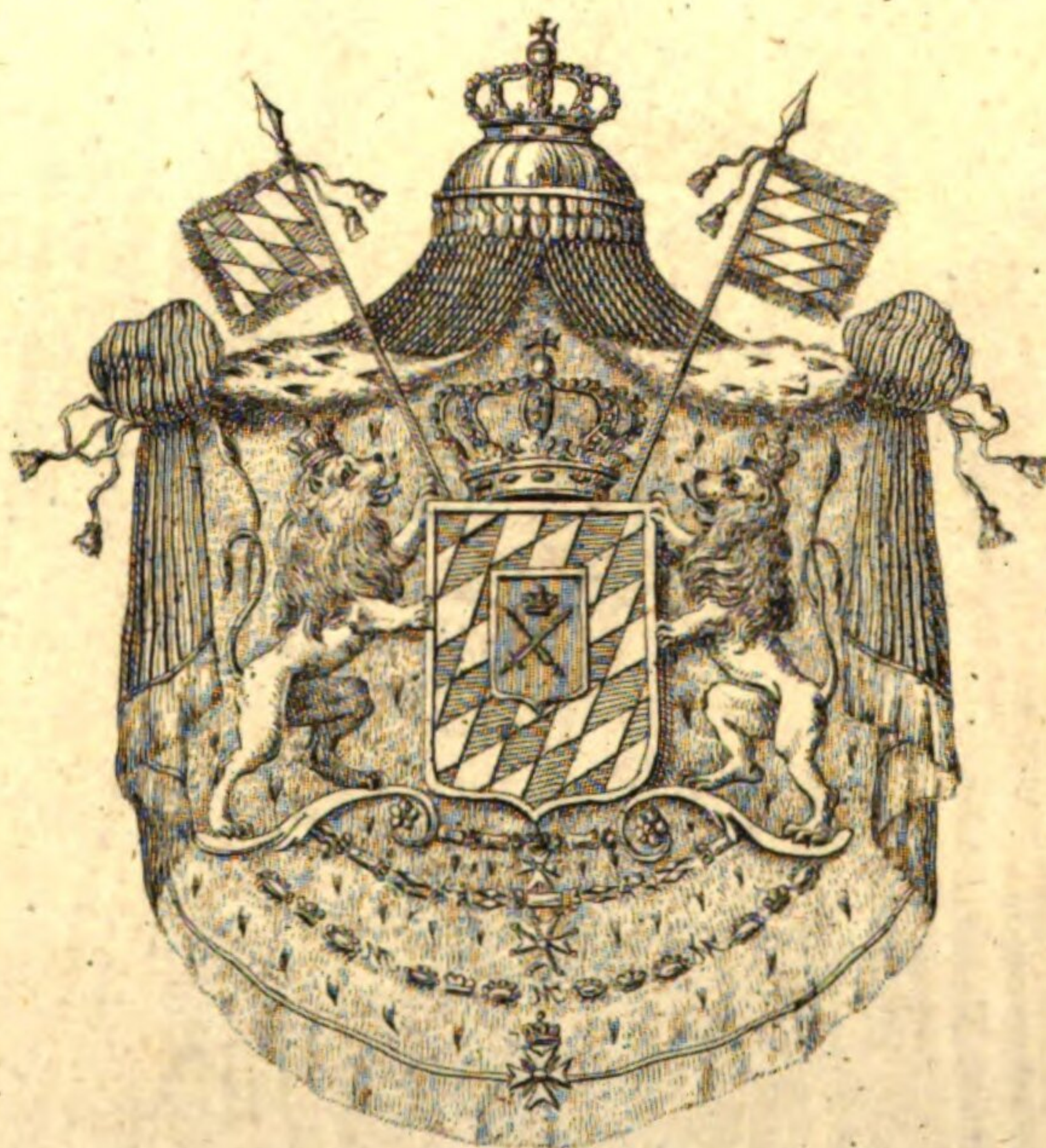


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T H E
L I F E
O F
R O B E R T G R O S S E T E S T E ,

THE CELEBRATED
B I S H O P O F L I N C O L N .

By S A M U E L P E G G E , LL.D.
PREBENDARY of L O U T H , in that CHURCH.

W I T H
An ACCOUNT of the BISHOP'S WORKS, and an APPENDIX.

“ Quanto super cunctos ejus temporis eminebat *Philosophos*, et in Dei scientiâ et doctrinâ anteibat *Theologos*, quod, testantibus suorum scriptorum famosissimorum opusculis, modernos non latet scholasticos tanto *humilior*, *simplicior* et *sanctior*, ut, innocens atque mundus, in vitæ deguit puritate; cujus *sanctitatis* opinio longè latèque percrebescebat et fama.”

Decan. et Cap. Divi Pauli, A. 1307, ad Papam
de ROB. GROSSETESTE.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED BY AND FOR JOHN NICHOLS, PRINTER TO THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.
MDCCXCIII.

56.D.

11

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BY

OF



WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BISHOP

Quando super cunctis eius temporibus...
et deinde...
opulencia...
...
longe latius perrepererat et fama...
...
de Ros. Graecis...

L O N D O N :

PRINTED BY AND FOR JOHN NICHOLS, PRINTER TO THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQVARIAS.

MDCCLIII.



To the Right Reverend FATHER in GOD,

GEORGE, Lord Bishop of LINCOLN,

A N D

The Reverend the Dean and Chapter of that Cathedral.

MY LORD, AND GENTLEMEN,

THESE Historical Collections relative to the Life and Character of a Prelate not the most illustrious by Birth, but the most eminent in point of Literature (I speak with regard to times and seasons), of any Diocesan, *absit invidia*, that ever presided over your Church, are, with great deference and submission, laid at your feet. They were made under the auspices of my late learned and much honoured patron, Bishop GREEN, to whom I had the honour of imparting them, now many years

ago, at Buckden; and he was pleased to peruse, and, as I flattered myself, to approve them.

I call them by no better name than *Collections*, though brought into a readable form; because nothing at this distance of time, can possibly be learned of Bishop Grosseteste and his History but what must be drawn from books and MSS; and, what is a greater disparagement to the Work, my private station, as a Country Clergyman, would not permit me to have much access to public libraries, but the materials were chiefly to be sought for in a *Book-room*, which, you will easily suppose, cannot be very richly or amply furnished.

However, such as the Performance is, I have the pleasure of introducing it into the world under your Patronage and Protection; an Honour which will ever be most highly esteemed, and most gratefully remembered, by,

MY LORD, and GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

THE
L I F E
OF
ROBERT GROSSETESTE,
BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

THE respectable name of ROBERT GROSSETESTE (*a*), accompanied, as it ever has been, with a consonance and universality of applause, has not failed to excite the learned of these latter ages to investigate the circumstances of his Life, and elucidate the History of his Times; but, by a strange and almost unaccountable fatality, no ardor of the most inquisitive, no labour of the best qualified, has ever yet met with the desired success.

To give a short sketch of these disappointments; the industrious Henry Wharton was very desirous of meeting with a good manuscript Life of the Bishop, written by some able hand of the Prelate's own times, or near them (*b*); but after all his researches, and yet he was a person extremely well versed in our MS Libraries, he was disappointed, having found nothing but

(*a*) See Appendix, N° I. for the orthography of the name.

(*b*) Wharton, Præf. ad Ang. Sacr. Vol. II. p. xvii. The Life mentioned by Dr. Smith, Cat. MSS. Bibl. Cott. p. 74. was burnt in the fire there, as I am informed. However, it could be of no consequence, or would not have escaped the notice of Mr. Wharton, he being so well acquainted with the contents of the Cotton Library.



the trivial performance of Richard de Bardney (*a*), stuffed full of lies and legends, which, after lopping some futile excrescences, he thought fit, nevertheless, to publish in the *Anglia Sacra*, and of which sufficient notice, and, perhaps, as some may think, more than sufficient, shall be taken in the sequel (*b*). A Life of the Author was once prefixed to a MS volume of the Bishop's works in New College Library, as is noticed by Dr. James (*c*), but nothing of the kind is extant there now; I imagine it could be but a short business; however, one cannot but regret the loss of any, the slenderest, memorials on a subject so curious and interesting. N° 582 in the MS Library at Lambeth concerns our Prelate and his writings; but our expectations hence cannot be very sanguine, after what has been said above concerning Mr. Wharton and his enquiries, who was not only chaplain at the palace, but actually made a catalogue of the MSS. there. Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, made large collections relative to the affairs of his predecessor Grosseteste, which he intitled *Analecta de Vita et Scriptis Rob. Grossthead*. The original MS. was formerly in the possession of Henry Brougham, one of his chaplains, to whom he left all the MSS of his own composition (*d*), but now is lodged in the Ashmolean Museum amongst the MSS. of Anthony à Wood, N° xciii. (*e*)

John Williams, another of our Prelate's successors at Lincoln, afterwards Lord Keeper, and Archbishop of York, con-

(*a*) He wrote also the Life of St. Hugh the Boy, (Wharton, Præf. to *Anglia Sacra*, li. p. xvii.) The remains of this infant Saint were discovered by the Dean, Præcentor, Chancellor, and other gentlemen, in new-paving the North aisle of the choir of the cathedral at Lincoln, August, 1791.

(*b*) Mr. Wharton also designed, if Anthony à Wood says true, to write the life of our Prelate himself. Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* li. col. 875. but quære, whether there be any such passage in the *Anglia Sacra* of Mr. Wharton?

(*c*) Tho. James, *Eclog. Cantab. Oxon.*

(*d*) Wood, *Ath. Ox.* li. 879.

(*e*) Tanner's *Biblioth.* v. Grossthead. Quære, if not in the Bodleian Library?

ceived so great a veneration for the memory of his august predecessor, that he formed a design of collecting all his works in three volumes folio; but the civil wars breaking out, he was forced to drop it. No doubt but this great man would have taken care to have premised the author's life at large (*a*). I know not whether we have much reason to lament the want of this projected edition of Bishop Grosseteste's numerous productions, on account of the various improvements that have been made since his time on most of the subjects treated by him; however, the author's life, compiled by so able an hand, would have been a valuable acquisition. Anthony à Wood, the famous Oxford antiquary, left behind him a volume of collections concerning Bishop Grosseteste and his affairs; and it is now remaining in the Ashmolean Museum: but as Bishop Tanner, who frequently cites it (*b*), observes, it is chiefly made from the above *Analec̃ta* of Bishop Barlow. These Collectanea, I apprehend, are what Mr. Hearne calls Wood's Life of Grosseteste (*c*).

Mr. Edward Brown, the learned editor of Bishop Grosseteste's Opuscula (*d*), intended, in some future publication, to have favoured us with a series of his Lordship's life and transactions, together with some more of his works (*e*); but falling into ill health by too close an application to his studies, and dying

(*a*) Hacker's Life of Archbishop Williams, Part II. p. 40. Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 57. Brown, Fasciculus, p. 396.

(*b*) Tanner's Bibliotheca; where it is marked *A. Wood, MS.*

(*c*) Hearne ad Annal. Dunstap. p. 299.

(*d*) Brown, Appendix ad Fasciculum Rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum, 2 vol. fol. London, 1690, p. 244. The Imprimatur bears date May 5, 1687.

(*e*) "Quale autem fuerit integrum illius [Grossetesti] vitæ curriculum alias tibi conabor explicare, cum manuscriptorum aliquorum alicubi extantium compos fuero, et plus mihi otii (Deo volente) concessum fuerit, ut alia viri hujus egregii, seculique sui ornamenti, opera patefaciam. His interea contentus esto, quasi in antecessum aliorum; et si quid poteris conantem adjuva." p. 248.

in September, 1698, all his literary designs dropped with him (a).

The late learned Dr. Samuel Knight, a person well known in the Republic of Letters by his *Life of Erasmus*, and Dr. Colet Dean of St. Paul's, to say nothing of his *Lucubrations*, employed himself, in the latter part of his life, in amassing materials for a life of our Prelate, and, as I have been informed, had made considerable advances (b); but by some means or other his labours are unfortunately lost; for, upon the best and strictest enquiry, made both by myself and others, they are not now to be found (c).

(a) This gentleman was an excellent scholar, a spirited writer, and singularly well versed in the controversy between the Protestants and Romanists. He was a native of Rochester in Kent, Master of Arts, and Fellow of Clare Hall. He afterwards travelled into Italy. He lived some time in London, and had a child born there in Goodman's Fields. However, his first preferment was the rectory of Connington, in Cambridgeshire; to which, I think, he was collated by Dr. Peter Gunning, his countryman and fellow-collegian, and where two of his children were buried. Mr. Brown was then collated to Sundridge in Kent, by Archbishop William Sancroft (to whom, with Henry Compton, Bishop of London, the *Fasciculus* is dedicated), and was inducted 12 Febr. 1688-9. There he died about Michaelmas in 1699. He translated and published *Father Paul's Letters*, 1693. And Arthur Collins, in the *Discourse of Free-Thinking*, p. 94, charges him with corrupting his author by some omissions. His library, which was considerable, was purchased by Lord Somers.

Gratitude prompted me to give the foregoing brief account of Mr. Brown, to whom our obligations are very great, for printing so many of Bishop Grosseteste's *Opuscula* and *Epistles* in the *Fasciculus*, as from them we learn much of the Bishop's true spirit and temper.

(b) Peck's Preface to his *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. xiv.

(c) The following account I received from Dr. Charles Mason, some years ago: "Mr. North of Coddicote, whom I presume you know, had a desire of having Dr. Knight's *Life of Grossthead* published, and offered to undertake it. I applied to Mr. Knight about it; and though I was satisfied that he would do nothing that way himself, yet could I not guess by his answers, whether he was willing to communicate them to any one else or no. I teased him on that head till I was ashamed. But upon applying to him now [1760], he says, he has looked over all his papers twice, and can find nothing upon that subject. He conceives that his father had lent them out, but made no memorandum to whom. I will send to enquire if it may be found among Dr. Willis's papers." Dr. Willis, upon enquiry, knew nothing of them.

The

The schemes and projects of these celebrated antiquaries, though fruitless and abortive, do yet afford us abundant evidence of the high opinion which the learned world has all along entertained of our Prelate and his writings; and at the same time must impress *us* with diffidence and awful fear, lest a subject so arduous should suffer too much, since suffer it certainly will, under our feeble hands; and that by not filling up the measure of it we should disgrace it. But let this be my apology; Cicero gives it as a refined double *entendre*, that, when Scipio Africanus Major at a banquet was putting on his chaplet, and it broke several times in stretching, as being too little, P. Licinius Varus gravely observed to him, “*noli mirari si non conveniat; caput enim magnum est (a).*”

This, again, ought to be premised, in regard to the present attempt; that though, as Bishop Grosseteste's biographer, I shall naturally be disposed to give him all his due praises, yet I foresee, that I cannot, in all cases, approve of his conduct and transactions; and that, in some particulars, I may chance to think less highly of him than others have done before me. Wherefore I hope I shall be pardoned in not sacrificing my own notions and sentiments to a blind indiscriminate admiration of the Prelate, especially as I shall always endeavour to proceed with impartiality, and, as I trust, with candour.

Lastly; in various assemblies of the bishops and clergy, especially in 1238 and 1239, the papal exactions were strenuously opposed, and our Bishop here attended amongst the rest; but yet as nothing extraordinary relative particularly to him passed at those and the like meetings, as he is not mentioned by name, nor stood singular, nor any way signalized himself on the occasions, I shall not think myself obliged to take notice of those assemblies, which I mention here once for all.

(a) Cicero De Oratore II. cap. 61.

THE Papal usurpations and incroachments on the civil and religious rights of this kingdom were grown up to the highest pitch, being completed in the unhappy reign of king John, when this prince was compelled by the Roman Pontiff, Innocent III. to resign his kingdoms, and receive them again as a fee of the Papacy; and from a free and sovereign prince, to take the title of a feudatory, or vassal, to the bishop of Rome, doing homage accordingly, and consenting to pay an annual tribute of 1000 marks for his own kingdoms.

The lamentable state and condition of the English Church in particular, at the close of the reign of king John, cannot be better or more fully represented than in the words of Dr. Inett. "The patronage of the Crown," says he, "was lost with the
"right of investitures (*a*); the power to convene national synods
"was swallowed up by that of the Papal legates (*b*); the supremacy in causes ecclesiastical was carried to Rome by the
"cession which yielded up the right of appeals (*b*); the authority over the persons and the estates of the clergy and religious
"was given away by that grant which discharged the clergy from
"the secular power (*b*); and the church was thereby rendered a
"body separate and independent on the state, their interests distinguished, and set at such a distance from one another, that
"the privileges and liberties of the church were numbered from
"the spoils of the civil government, and then only thought
"bright and shining, when they cast a shade upon the monarchy (*c*)."

(*a*) In the reign of Henry I.

(*b*) In the reign of Henry II.

(*c*) Dr. Inett, History of the English Church, II. p. 500.

Thus

Thus the attempts of the court and see of Rome were not more insolent and despotic, in respect of the dignity of this imperial crown, than they were on the wealth and power of the clergy, upon whom they laid the most grievous impositions, by levying money and embargoing the benefices, and at the same time depressing, by all possible means, the jurisdiction and authority of the prelates (a).

As this was the state of things when king John died Oct. 18, 1216; his young son, king Henry III. was forced to tread in the steps of his father, and to take the kingdom upon the same terms, by swearing fealty, and doing his homage to the Pope (b): inasmuch that the prelacy of bishop Grosseteste, begun and concluded in the reign of this prince, will afford us a concise, though clear, representation of the mode in which the successors of Pope Innocent (c) and their agents conducted their ill-acquired, and now unlimited, power. And the tyrannical proceedings of the Popes, and particularly of Innocent IV. though laid open no further than will be consistent with the account which we pro-

(a) Ibidem, p. 491. See Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, I. p. 366. Il Cardinalismo di Santa Chiesa, p. 69, 70. It was a constant artifice of the Roman pontiffs to humble bishops, in order to obliterate and extinguish their every idea of coequality. See Swift's Works, XIII. p. 104.

(b) Matt. Paris, p. 289. Innocent IV. speaks out on this subject "Nonne Rex Anglorum noster est *Vassallus, et ut plus dicam, Mancipium, &c.*?" This was A. D. 1252. Matt. Paris, p. 872. And Henry himself acknowledges the same; see p. 431, 446, 524, 623. His own subjects reproached him with this, as also did the emperor Frederick, p. 528. Henry, it must be owned, had great obligations to the Holy See, and Gualo the legate, at his accession to the throne. Brown, Fascic. II. p. 389, seq. but, poor man! he could not be of age without the Pope's leave. M. Paris, in Additament. p. 151, seq. He is said to be in the Pope's care and custody. Pandulf, in Præf. ad Annal. Dunstap. p. lxxi. and could not obtain a subsidy without the help of his Holiness. Annal. Dunstap. p. 152. A. D. 1236. He endeavoured to void certain grants made before his marriage as being invalid for want of the Pope's confirmation, *ad quem, said he, jus regni spectabat conferre.* M. Paris, p. 431.

(c) He died in July 1216, a few months before king John.

pose to give of the life of Bishop Groffeteste, will appear to be perfectly answerable to all that injustice and oppression, by which, from the time of Hildebrand, who took the name of Gregory VII. they had been advancing the holy chair to this enormity of power and glory.

It was once our intention to take up the general history of the English Church, beginning where Dr. Inett leaves it, and to continue it down to the year 1253, when bishop Groffeteste died, interweaving the life of this great Prelate with it (*a*). But since we are now eventually engaged in making collections relative to the church of Lincoln in particular, it may suffice to give the life of this Prelate, without launching into the general ecclesiastical history of the times, more than may be necessary for that purpose.

The precise year of Robert Groffeteste's birth is not assuredly known; it was probably about A. D. 1175: neither are we absolutely certain of what family, or country, he was; but, nevertheless, we incline to think he was born of low and obscure, but honest, parentage, at Strodbrocke, now Stradbroke, in the county of Suffolk (*b*).

Richard of Bardney pretends, he obtained his school learning at Lincoln, at the expence of the mayor of the city, whose heart was captivated by the boy in some conversation he had with him when begging at the door. Richard seems to deliver this in consequence of his taking *Stow*, a village near Lincoln, to be the place of the Bishop's birth; but it carries with it an air so aprochyphal and legendary, that one knows not how to

(*a*) Memoirs of the Life of Roger de Weseham, London, 1761, 4to. in Preface.

(*b*) The Reader will find these points of the Bishop's nativity, parentage, &c. discussed at large in the Appendix, N^o II. For the present I only refer to M. Westminster, p. 354.

credit it(*a*); especially if the Bishop was born, as we have stated it, and as we think most probable, in Suffolk; where, consequently, as John Leland very rationally opines, he acquired his first rudiments of literature(*b*). But be this as it will, he was sent to school early, and made an extraordinary proficiency for his age; whence Leland writes “Cumque jam adolescentiæ annos attigisset, tam felici indole erat, tam naturali facundiâ, “tam denique acri *pro ætate* judicio, ut Bellositum, sive Oxoni- “am, Academiam illo tempore florentissimam, a propinquis “missus est.” He speaks with confidence, you observe, and without the least hesitation, of his being removed to Oxford for the finishing of his studies, and accomplishing himself with academical learning; and yet Bardney again steps in to puzzle the cause, alleging, that he went from school to Cambridge. He does not, however, deny, that he afterwards (after his return from Paris) made a conspicuous figure at Oxford.

The University of Oxford, at the close of the 12th century, was in a very flourishing condition(*c*); the number of students there was almost incredible(*d*), multitudes of clerks being daily

(*a*) Quære, Whether there was any Latin school in the city of Lincoln at this time? or even a mayor? Yet the dean and chapter of St. Paul's in their Letter to Clement V. say, “quem primitus filium, et post patrem, ipsius ecclesiæ [Lincol- “nienfis] patrona edidit, Virgo Mater.” Wharton, A. S. II. p. 343, which at first sight seems to imply, that Robert was bred and educated at that church; but I presume it only means, that he was preferred there as a canon and archdeacon before he was its bishop, see on pag. 371.

(*b*) Natus fuit, atque *adeo teneris annis educatus in Sudovolgia*. Leland in Tanneri Biblioth. v. Grossthead.

(*c*) Wood, Hist. and Antiq. p. 58, 119. See below under anno 1238, where it is reckoned the most eminent in the world after that at Paris.

(*d*) Anno 1231, they are said to be 30,000. Wood, Hist. and Antiq. p. 84. and see p. 80, 98. There were many foreigners. M. Paris, p. 858. and, I suppose, all that could read and write were included. See Pointer, Oxon. Acad. in Præf. p. ix. xi. Epist. Obscur. Viror. p. 236. Peshall History of the University of Oxford, p. 14.

wanted in these days for the supply of the churches and monasteries. And in those times of frugality a slender provision made for him by his relations (*a*) would suffice for his maintenance and support, when lectures were read gratuitously (*b*), and little was paid for lodging, though the students in these times were chiefly accommodated in private houses (*c*), and afterwards there were some complaints made upon this head (*d*).

At Oxford the young academician plied his studies to the greatest advantage. There, says Leland, “tantâ dexteritate in “studiis usus est, ut post annos non adeo multos in acutissimum “dialecticum, et *summum philosophum* (*e*) evaserit.” He rests his character as an *artist* on the testimony of Joachim Vadianus, an author of the 16th century (*f*), and Johannes Trithemius, Abbas (*g*); but we have at this time more irrefragable evidence of it, in the productions of the bishop’s own pen, for which we refer the reader to the catalogue of his works intended to be given in the sequel. Whence John, abbat of Peterborough, had reason to say of him, “Iste erat in omnibus septem artibus liber-
“libus eruditissimus (*h*).”

(*a*) See Leland’s words adduced above.

(*b*) St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, read gratis; Wood, Hist. Antiq. p. 81; and was heard by some other considerable men; Sewal, Archbishop of York; St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester; Robert Bacon, whom Wood calls Roger falsely; &c. Vide M. Paris, p. 869. Wood, II. p. 9. Caius, I. p. 308.

(*c*) See Chaucer, Miller’s Tale.

(*d*) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. I. p. 84.

(*e*) His character, according to the mode of the times, was *summus philosophus*. So Wood seems to understand Joach. Vadianus, Hist. I. p. 82. but I discern not that in Vadianus, whose words occur in Tanner’s Biblioth. p. 345.

(*f*) Tessier, Eloges des Hommes Sçavans, I. p. 41. Melchior Adam. Vit. Germ. Med. p. 55.

(*g*) Joh. Trithemius, p. 99. Edit. Fabricii.

(*h*) Joh. Abbas Petriburg, p. 107. See also John of Tinmouth in Wharton, A. S. II. p. 347, who commends him particularly for his skill in logic and astrology, i. e. astronomy.

But

But what is more extraordinary, and than which nothing more clearly discovers the penetrating and enterprizing genius of our Oxonian, he laid the foundation at this time, and at this place, of his skill in the Greek language; for Leland says expressly, speaking of his employment at Paris, “nam præter-
 “quam quod ibidem in Græca lingua, *quam antea gustaverat*,
 “multum profecerit, &c.” intimating, that he had applied himself to the study of the Greek tongue before he went abroad, and only improved himself in it when at Paris; and Mr. Wood testifies, that Nicholas the Greek, who was the bishop’s master and instructor in this then rare and valuable tongue, was a student both at Oxford and Paris, before he became a monk at St. Alban’s (*a*). The knowledge of the Greek tongue, it is thought, was introduced hither at this time from France, but chiefly from Italy (*b*). Now estimating the state of learning here in those days, the taste and current of the times, this was a most noble effort. Inducement indeed he did not want for engaging in the arduous task, since he saw plainly, that the scholars of that age had their learning but at the second or third hand; that the *Aristotle* whom they read, commented upon, and adored, was a Greek author, whose original text not a single man amongst them was capable of perusing; but all were obliged to content themselves with Latin translations, and such as were commonly made from the Arabic versions of the Moors in Spain (*c*). And again, though the path was hitherto untrodden,
 yet

(*a*) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. p. 82. He was not a monk however, as we shall observe hereafter.

(*b*) Mr. Warton’s History of English Poetry, Dissert. II. p. xli.

(*c*) Hence Dr. Cave says, speaking of the 13th century, “in scholis Christianis
 “pene unice regnavit scholastica theologia, advocata in subsidium Aristotelis philo-
 “sophia, eaque non ex Græcis fontibus, *sed ex turbidis Arabum lacunis, ex versionibus male factis, male intellectis*, hausta.” Cave, Historia Literaria, p. 615. Of
 C 2 the

yet he had the felicity of meeting with a good assistant in the person of Nicholas abovementioned, of whom we shall have occasion to say more below (*a*).

At Oxford he also entered upon the study of the sacred language of the Bible, and had good opportunity of doing it. There had been Jews there from the reign of William the Conqueror (*b*); and one or two places of abode were there allotted them under the name of Jewries (*c*). One part of their employment was, teaching the young academics the rudiments of their language (*d*); many of their MSS. were also dispersed about (*e*); Roger Bacon testifies of Grosseteste in particular, "Sancti doctores non usi sunt nisi *hoc textu*, neque sapientes antiqui, quorum aliquot vidimus, ut fuit Dominus *Robertus* Episcopus *Lincoln.* et frater *Adam de Marisco*, et alii maximi viri (*f*). And in expounding that article in the Creed of Christ's *descent into Hell*, he defended the acceptation of his going into the proper Hell, or the place of the damned (though in this the bishop undoubtedly errs), from the Hebrew text of the Psalmist, thus rendered, *et vita mea ad infernum descendit*,

the Introduction of Aristotle at Oxford, See Wood, Hist. p. 87, 119, seq. 81. II. p. 9. Warton, p. 292. and of the Arabs, Mr. Warton, History of English Poetry, p. lxxxv. lxxxvi. cxlii. 292. and Euseb. Renaudot in Fabricii Bib. Gr. xii. p. 246, seq.

(*a*) Anno 1248. John Rous says, that 3 or 4 John, certain venerable Greek philosophers came from Athens to England, and wanted to address the king upon the errors of the Latin Church, but that he would not hear them. Rossus, p. 196. Grosseteste, however, had no intercourse with them that we know of.

(*b*) Wood, Hist. and Antiq. p. 46. Mr. Warton, History of English Poetry, Dissert. II. p. cxliii.

(*c*) Idem, ibidem, et p. 51.

(*d*) Idem, ibidem. Mr. Warton, l. c.

(*e*) Warton, l. c.

(*f*) Rog. Bacon apud Hody de Text. Bibl. p. 420. See also Nic. Trivet. p. 264. John of Tinmouth apud Wharton in A. S. II. p. 347. Wood, Hist. and Antiq. p. 82. Dr. Hody, p. 419.

as appears, says Mr. Wood, in a tract of his, written with his own hand, upon the Psalter, and formerly lodged in the Franciscan Library at Oxford (*a*). Hence Boston of Bury says of him, “multa de Glossis Hebræorum extraxit(*b*); and Bacon, that he was so far master of the Greek and Hebrew, that he could translate them himself, commending him at the same time for his diligence in procuring proper assistants in those tongues (*c*).

The university of Paris was at this juncture, as is confessed by all(*d*), a public mart of learning for languages, philosophy, and divinity; insomuch that almost all our English divines, who aspired after a superior degree of eminence in their profession, resorted to Paris, for the finishing of their character, notwithstanding the high reputation of our own domestic academies. Thither went Thomas à Becket, John of Salisbury, Stephen Langton, Daniel Morley, Giraldus Cambrensis, St. Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, Nicolas Farnham, Thomas Wallensis, John de Basing, and an hundred more(*e*). These great men found a ready opportunity of conversing with the learned abroad, of perfecting themselves in the languages and sciences, and of purchasing many foreign MSS. for the use and improvement of their countrymen at home. Manuscripts at this time

(*a*) Wood, Hist. and Antiq. p. 222. In one of his *dicta*, p. 274, he explains the name, *Ramatba*, i. e. *Celsitudo*.

(*b*) Boston Bur. in Wilkins, Præf. ad Tanneri Biblioth. p. xxxvii. and see T. Warton, History of English Poetry, Dissert. II. p. xcvi.

(*c*) Bacon in Leland's Collect. III. p. 335.

(*d*) See below, under anno 1238, where it is reckoned the first university in the world. M. Paris styles it, in the year 1229, *Nutrix philosophiæ et alumna sapientiæ*.

(*e*) Adam de Marisco, Joh. Ægidius, &c. Vide omnino Wood, Hist. and Antiq. p. 85. 82. 84. where many English make a figure at Paris; also, p. 55; and M. Paris, p. 899; et in Vit. p. 103. Warton, Dissert. II. p. cxviii.

were

were *κειμήλια*, things of great value (*a*), and it was chiefly from Paris and Italy that the classics, the Fathers of the Church, and the later Divines, were imported hither. The larger monasteries had their *Scriptoria* (*b*), rooms set apart for scribes, for the support of which tythes and other emoluments were assigned (*c*); and, by an assiduous attention to the business, copies, both of the service-books and of ancient authors, were greatly multiplied; infomuch that before the Art of Printing was discovered the great houses were richly furnished with MSS. Witness the libraries at Peterborough (*d*) and Rochester (*e*), and those mentioned by Leland (*f*), by Boston of Bury, and Bishop Tanner in his *Bibliotheca*.

As for Bishop Grosseteste, whilst he was at Paris he kept making further advances in the Hebrew and Greek languages, and completing his acquaintance with the Gallic idiom. The French tongue was currently spoken here in England at that time (*g*); but accuracy and elegance were to be learnt at the

(*a*) See the year 1238; also Willis's Survey of Bangor, p. 218, 232; where even Missals, Breviaries, and Pontificals, are presents worthy of having a place in wills: also Orderic. Vital. p. 504. A fine MS. was worth a good horse. Hickes, Thesaur. III. p. 289. Vide Warton, Differt. II. p. lxxiii. seq. many had been destroyed by the Danes, p. cviii. and by fires, p. cxiv.

(*b*) Du Fresne, v. *Scriptores et Scriptorium*. T. Warton, Differt. II. p. cxiii.

(*c*) M. Paris in Vit. p. 51. Mr. Warton, Differt. II. p. cxiii.

(*d*) Gunton, p. 173, seq.

(*e*) Text. Roff. p. 224, seq.

(*f*) Leland. Collectanea, passim, et de Script. Brit. Bale testifies, anno 1549, that at the dissolution of the monasteries whole ships full of books were, at times, sent over sea. See also Warton's History of English Poetry, p. 88, and Differt. II. p. lxxviii. cxv.

(*g*) See the catalogue of our author's works amongst the *French*. Mr. Warton, History of English Poetry, p. 46, 47, 64. Et omnino, p. 85. Chaucer, p. 2. edit. Urry.

fountain-head (*a*); and it appears evidently from the bishop's own works, that he could write fluently, and as a poet, in the language, and was, in fact, a perfect master of it (*b*). That he prosecuted the study of the Hebrew and Greek tongues at Paris, we are not only told (*c*), but also that his former preceptor, Nicolas the Greek, was there to attend him (*d*). Not that he here met with the Greek original of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, whom in part he afterwards translated, or the testaments of the twelve Patriarchs; for John de Basingstoke brought the former with him afterwards to England (*e*); and as to the latter, John informed the bishop of the book, and his lordship sent to Athens for it (*f*). This certainly was a noble effort, equally noble, if not superior, considering the difference of the times, to the spirit of the Scaligers, the Lauds, the Ushers, and other learned men of later ages (*g*), who disbursed great sums in searching for, and importing ancient MSS. from the Levant: for it must be observed, that, though the treasure ended at last in smoke, by the *Testaments* proving a spurious insignificant trifle, yet the bishop's intentions were not the less laudable and glorious. To return, we are informed by Roger Bacon, that the bishop did not venture to translate till the latter part of his life (*h*), after *de Basing* was returned from abroad. But for

(*a*) See Mr. Warton, Differt. II. p. cxvii. Besides, the French language spoken here differed from the Parisian. Chaucer, p. 2.

(*b*) John Leland appeals for this to his *Le Chateau d'Amours*.

(*c*) Wood, Hist. and Antiq. p. 82.

(*d*) Wood, l. c.

(*e*) See below, anno 1238; and Rapin, p. 356.

(*f*) Cardinal Pole sent to Poland; at a great expence, for Tully's book *De Republica*. Ascham's Epist. lib. I. p. 99.

(*g*) Pope Nicholas V. expended great sums in sending scholars into all parts to seek for MSS. Platina, p. 382. and promised a reward of 5000 ducats to him who should bring him St. Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew. Seldenus, de Libris, p. 264. *a*

(*h*) Roger Bacon in Wood, p. 82. anno 1242. See Wharton, A. S. II. p. 345, and below on anno 1242.

the extent of the bishop's skill in the Greek language I must beg leave to refer to the Appendix, N° X.

In regard to philosophy and theology, no question can be made but that he pursued them with his usual ardour and diligence. "Theologos fere omnes," says Leland, speaking of his Parisian lucubrations, "exactissime evolvebat; unde et ipse
"tal^{is} theologus factus, qualem vel docta antiquitas surgentis
"Christianæ ecclesiæ pro suo agnovisset." Indeed it is thought, that Robert chiefly applied himself to the study of divinity when at Paris (*a*).

On the bishop's return from abroad, having no connection at present with any other place, he repaired to his old mother at Oxford (*b*), where he immediately began to shine with uncommon lustre, reading his lectures both in philosophy and divinity, with universal applause. And the exalted character which he then acquired in the university, and the noble figure he there made in all branches of literature both human and divine, was the ground of William de Vere, bishop of Hereford's, inviting him into his service, and of that congratulatory letter which Giraldus Cambrensis, no mean or incompetent judge of Grosseteste's abilities, wrote to that prelate, on occasion of his taking into his family a person, so exquisitely qualified to assist him, and wherein he adorns the professor with the highest encomiums (*c*).

But it may be proper to specify, in this place, the particular sciences in which Robert more eminently excelled, as collectible from the testimonies of authors, and the catalogue of his works. They include the whole encyclopædia, logic, ethics, politics,

(*d*) Appendix, N° X.

(*a*) Præf. ad Libr. de Cess. Legal. p. 14.

(*b*) Wood, p. 82.

(*c*) Giraldus's Epistle is printed in Mr. Wharton, A. S. II. p. 344.

economic (*a*), the various branches of natural philosophy, as the doctrine of the sphere, of comets, the rainbow, the air, catoptrics, light, motion, together with arithmetic, geometry, music, and the learned languages, as preparative to those and his other studies; to all which we may add, medicine (*b*) and ecclesiastical law (*c*), astronomy and metaphysics, and, as the crown of all the rest, theology and a consummate acquaintance with the Scriptures.

We have no evidence that Robert was a performer upon any instrument, but he wrote upon the subject of music (*d*), and was extremely fond of it. He stationed a harper near his bed-chamber and study, to amuse and solace him upon occasion, both for the exhilaration of his spirits, and as an excitement to devotion. As I am enabled by Mr. Thomas Warton, a gentleman of indefatigable curiosity and most extensive literature, to produce the lines of Robert de Brunne, whence we are informed of these particulars, they are remitted into the Appendix (*e*), for the reader's amusement and satisfaction.

(*a*) See Catalogue of his works, and below, annis 1240, 1241.

(*b*) "Scio enim," says Giraldus in his Epistle, "quod ejus opera, tam in negotiis vestris variis, et causarum decisionibus, quam in corporis vestri conferenda sanitatis et conservanda curis, cum in horum peritiâ fideliter præstet, vobis dupliciter fiet, immò multipliciter, pernecessaria." See more, on this head, in the Appendix, N° III.

(*c*) Giraldus suggests, in the letter above-mentioned, that Robert would be useful to the Bishop of Hereford in determining causes, as being possessed, consequently, with a competent knowledge of ecclesiastical law; the canon and civil law were now making their appearance, and the bishop was a retainer to them. See Brown, p. 320. The letter there was written before 1239, and he presses to have the common law altered by the canon, in respect of legitimating bastards by marriage; but certainly he is wrong. See also p. 326. Civil law was prohibited anno 1219, by Honorius III. in order to make way for the canon. Hurd, Dial. p. 223. See also p. 224. So that, though, we should suppose Grosseteste was a canonist chiefly (but without excluding a knowledge of the common law, in which the clergy were generally well versed. Ibid. p. 221.) yet the civil law was in great credit, p. 231; and he was by no means ignorant of it.

(*d*) See his works, under the head of Philosophica inedita.

(*e*) Appendix, N° XVII.

Some of these branches of knowledge abovementioned were very abstruse, and at that time but little known; for the two learned friars, Roger Bacon and Thomas de Bungey, who were both of them eminent for the like researches into nature and natural things, did not flourish till our Prelate was gone off the stage (*a*). And it was on account of his diving so deeply into some curious subjects, into the causes of things and their effects, together with his reputed skill in the mathematics (*b*), and his acquaintance with languages so rare and uncommon as the Greek and Hebrew (*c*), that our academic was esteemed by the vulgar, and even by the ignorant monks, to be a magician (*d*). John Gower, the poet, calls him expressly an astrologer (*e*), meaning by that term a person well-versed in the planetary influences as contradistinguished from an astronomer; and Conrad Gesner says, in his Bibliothecæ, that Groffeteste actually wrote a book on astrology, and another on necromancy and sorcery (*f*). The latter is absolutely false; and as to the former, by *astrology* was not meant the constructing of nativities, or determining the fates of kingdoms and empires by the positions of the heavenly bo-

(*a*) Roger Bacon died anno 1292; and Thomas de Bungey flourished anno 1290.

(*b*) The mathematics are reckoned amongst the arts of conjuration, in M. Paris, p. 542.

(*c*) "Tantâ enim barbarie," says Anthony à Wood, "infamis oppressa erat ætas illa, ut (veluti alicubi adnotavit Erasmus) si quis Græcas calleret literas, *magiæ* statim suspicionem subiret; quod si Hebraicas intelligeret, nulla mora quin de "cacodæmonum consortio perageretur." Wood, Hist. & Antiq. p. 82.

(*d*) Wood, l. c. What is very extraordinary, the poet Virgil was esteemed a conjurer. Caxton's Mirrour, Part III. c. 13. Fabric. B. Lat. II. p. 230. So *Petrarch*, and many other great men who happened to be superior to their contemporaries in the arts and sciences. See the work of *Gabr. Nandæus* on this subject; and note on *Hudibras*, vol. II. p. 401.

(*e*) Gower, *Confess. Amantis*, fol. lxiii. Boston Buriens. in Præf. ad Tanneri Biblioth. p. xxxvii. Knighton, col. 2436, who yet, perhaps, means no more than astronomy.

(*f*) *Goetia*.

dies, as these authors suppose, commonly called *judicial astrology*, but certain tracts of our prelate connected, as was thought, with astronomy, as *De Generatione Stellarum*, *De Impressionibus Elementorum sive Aeris*, *De Motu Supercoelestium*, *De Prognosticatione Temporum*, &c. which may properly be called 'Ασρολογία, though they do not include planetary influences on the wills and actions of men. From the same cause arose the ridiculous story of the *Brazen Head*, which some authors mention as made by him in his juvenile years by art magic, before he applied himself to the study of divinity. But certainly, as Mr. Wood well observes (a), “Grosseto sufficit ad ejusmodi maculam
“elundam, quod a viris et sæculi sui et subsequantium doctif-
“simis, pietatis simul et scientiæ nomine concelebratur; præter
“vindicias, quas illi hac in re ex professo præstitit Naudæus.” To which, however, I will add, that the bishop has expressed a perfect abhorrence of all such diabolical practices in his articles of visitation, where the fifth enquiry is, *an sortilegia fiant in parochiis* (b).

Robert's reception into the service of the bishop of Hereford may seem to have been a very promising entrance into the scene of public life; but this prelate, who appears to have been infirm when Giraldus wrote to him in Grosseteste's favour, died A. D. 1199 (c), by which incident all his fair prospect from this quarter ended in a gloom. After the demise of his patron, Robert seems to have returned to Oxford; for we find him continuing his lectures and institutes there many years after. And as the University of Oxford was at this time part of the

(a) P. 82.

(b) See more on this subject, and the other more absurd story of his infernal horse, *Beal*, in our Appendix, N° IV. and for the *Enquiry*, Appendix, N° V.

(c) Le Neve, Fasti.

diocese of Lincoln, his reputation, which still kept augmenting, recommended him very naturally to the knowledge and acquaintance of Hugh de Welles, bishop of that diocese, who made him ample reparation for the loss of his former friend. Bishop Hugh was consecrated anno 1209; and Richard de Bardney, whose authority I think we may rely upon in this case, informs us, that Robert's first preferment was the prebend of Clifton founded in the church of Lincoln (*a*), which one has reason to believe was conferred upon him by this prelate. And whereas this bishop confirmed all the donations and benefactions made to the priory of St. Andrew's at Northampton, the name of our Robert appears amongst the witnesses, but is placed last, *Robert Grosseteste*, without any addition (*b*), which would not have been done, had he been then archdeacon of Chester, as he was soon after. Bishop Welles was Robert's steady friend, and persevering patron, as will be seen in the sequel, and seems to have given him the first preferment that became vacant after his establishment in the see, which may be regarded as an extraordinary mark of distinction, and very honourable to Grosseteste's memory.

The bishoprick of Coventry, or Chester, as it was then commonly called (*c*), was vacant anno 1209, according to Mr. Wharton (*d*), on the demise of Geoffrey de Muschamp, anno 1208, and so continued till anno 1215, when William de Cornhulle was consecrated. So that as Robert occurs possessed of

(*a*) Bardney in Wharton, A. S. II. p. 333, where for *Cliftona* we are to read *Cliftona*, meaning the prebendary of North Clifton, in the county of Nottingham. Dr. Willis, however, has him not in his list, p. 167.

(*b*) Dugdale's Monasticon, I. p. 681.

(*c*) Memoirs of Roger de Weseham, p. 21. This was a puzzling affair to Mr. Gunton, History of Peterborough, p. 43. See on this head Gent. Mag. vol. LXI. pp.

(*d*) Wharton, A. S. I. p. 436; and see Dr. Richardson on Godwin, p. 315.

the archdeaconry of Chester, anno 1210 (a), he must have been promoted to that dignity by the guardian of the spiritualities, *sede vacante*. And this was a singular honour, not only in respect of the two chapters, Coventry and Lichfield, but also of the dignity itself, which, being the first of the five archdeaconries of that large diocese (on account of the pre-eminence of the county palatine of Chester, as well as for other reasons), was always filled, as is remarked by William Whitlocke (b), with great and learned men; and he vouches this appointment of Robert Grosseteste, as one proof of the observation, that of John Basing as second, that of Richard Fitz-Ralph as a third, and so on. Robert, however, resigned this preferment before anno 1221 (when Ralph de Maidstone held it), and probably in exchange for the archdeaconry of *Wilts* in the diocese of Salisbury, for we find him in possession of this A. D. 1220, when Richard Poore sat in that see (c).

(a) Dr. Willis, by some mistake, says, he was archdeacon there anno 1178; vol. I. p. 412; which cannot be, as he was then but a child. In Mr. Cole's copy of Le Neve's Fasti, in the hands of Mr. Gough, *I* is mentioned as archdeacon of Chester, 35 H. II. 1188, and a justice itinerant. In Madox's *Formulare*, p. 52. *R.* is archdeacon of Chester anno 1192; but this could not well be R. Grosseteste, as he was then too young. Le Neve takes it to mean Ralph de Maidstone; but this cannot be right, because he succeeded Grosseteste. It appears to me, that he was some person that intervened between archdeacon Hugh, mentioned by Willis, and Robert Grosseteste, though his name is not now known. See Dr. Willis, l. c.

(b) Whitlocke, in Wharton, A. S. I. p. 457. See below anno 1238.

(c) But quære as to the patron; for that ridiculous story told by Richard de Barney of Grosseteste's going in one night's time, by art magic, from Salisbury to Rome (see our Appendix, N^o IV.) to officiate for the bishop, then exceeding old and infirm, seems to imply, though there be no truth in the legend, that the then bishop of Sarum was very aged and decrepit, which appears not to comport with Richard Poore, who was translated from Salisbury to Duresme, and sat at this latter place 9 years. Perhaps, therefore, Herbert Poore, Richard's predecessor, might be Grosseteste's patron at Sarum, since he sat there from anno 1194 to 1217. And it is certain that we hear nothing of Humphrey, archdeacon of Wilts, and predecessor of Grosseteste, after the year 1213. More light is here wanting. However, if Herbert was patron, he was made archdeacon of Wilts before 1217.

Our

Our lights are so dim and imperfect, in regard to the former part of our prelate's life, that it is impossible, at present, to state the dates of his respective preferments with certainty and precision. Of this we have one example here, it being very uncertain how long he held the archdeaconry of Wilts, though he had undoubtedly resigned it before anno 1231, when S. is known to have enjoyed it (*a*). The cession might pass, to offer a conjecture, on his collation to the archdeaconry of Northampton by his old patron Hugh de Welles. We find him in this post anno 1221 (*b*); and I think it not improbable, that in that, or the preceding year, he relinquished the archdeaconry of Wilts for it. At this time, as I take it, he exchanged his prebend of Clifton for the more valuable one of Empingham, founded in the church of Lincoln. It consists of the impropriation of the rectory of Empingham in the county of Rutland, and the advowson of the vicarage. "This stall," says Dr. Willis, "was anciently held and enjoyed for some time *in commendam* (*c*) with the archdeaconry of Northampton; for I find, *anno* 1221, that Robert Grossthead, the then archdeacon, by virtue of his possession of this prebend, that year presented a clerk to the vicarage of Empingham, &c." (*d*) The same author thinks Grossteste resigned this dignity anno 1231, "For I find," says he, "John Houghton, archdeacon of Bedford, quitted that for this 1231 (*e*);" and this, I suppose, may be true, Grossteste being made archdeacon of Leicester; which

(*a*) Le Neve.

(*b*) Willis, p. 109, 181.

(*c*) Quære, Why this is said? as it seems far more probable, that Robert exchanged his former prebend of Clifton for it. And as to the observation of Empingham being anciently annexed to the archdeaconry of Northampton, it appears to me to amount to no more, than that two archdeacons happened to enjoy it.

(*d*) Willis, p. 181.

(*e*) Idem, p. 109.

preferment,

preferment, however, he relinquished in a very short time(*a*). Robert's collation to this archdeaconry was a further mark of Bishop Welles's favour towards him, which indeed appears to have been unabated till the very time of that prelate's death, as if he had a presentiment that Robert would be the person that would succeed him in his see. And, indeed, considering the similarity of the bishop's and Robert's notions concerning various matters of importance, relative to church affairs, some may incline to imagine that the bishop might possibly recommend him for his successor to the dean and chapter of Lincoln; but, however this may be, Robert says of him, "*Cum ego sim alter ille, non solum quia successi in ejus loco, sed quia ipse, retribuat ei Deus, per specialem dilectionem me suo univerrat cordi et animo, &c.*"

Some time before the year 1224, Robert proceeded in divinity, being invested with the doctorate(*b*).

The Franciscan, or Grey Friars, obtained a settlement at Oxford anno 1224(*c*), and Agnellus(*d*) Pisanus, who was at the head of the mission to that place, built a school for the

(*a*) Willis, p. 110, 50, 112. He certainly enjoyed this dignity. Leland, Le Neve, Willis, and Bishop Tanner (who cites Dr. Thomas Gascoigne,) all attesting it. See also Brown, Fascic. II. p. 307, 333. The reason of this cession will appear below, anno 1231.

(*b*) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. p. 71: where it is said, Agnellus had built the Franciscan School anno 1224, and that Robert then read lectures in it, being already a doctor of divinity. Some, it seems, have doubted whether Robert was a doctor of Oxford, but Mr. Hearne has cleared this to satisfaction. See him on Annal. Dunstap. p. 299.

(*c*) Wood, p. 67. The Black Friars were settled there before anno 1221. Pref. to Tanner, Not. Mon. p. xxi. There were four principal orders of friars, Dominican, Franciscan, Carmelite, and Augustine Friars, branched out afterwards, especially the second, into certain subdivisions. We are chiefly concerned, in this work, with the two first, whereof the Dominicans came to England anno 1221, and the Franciscans anno 1224, if not before. John Tanner, Pref. to Notitia Mon. p. xxi.

(*d*) Thomas Eccleston writes *Anagnellus*. Appendix to Thomas Otterbourne, p. xciii.

reading of lectures (*a*). Robert was then a divine of principal note in the university, and Agnellus prevailed with him to undertake the lectures, both in philosophy and divinity (*b*), in his new erection. Robert had an high opinion of these friars, as well as of the Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, who being mendicants, and adhering then to the strictness of their respective orders, though afterwards they departed from it in the most scandalous manner, had an appearance of great merit. And, indeed, many of both orders proved very considerable men, the learning of the times flourishing in a great measure amongst them for some years, and being almost monopolized by them. Grosseteste was the first lecturer in these schools; to him succeeded one Peter, who was afterwards promoted to a bishopric in Scotland; and his place was supplied, on the particular solicitation of Grosseteste, by Roger de Weseham, a prime favourite of Grosseteste's, advanced first to the deanery of Lincoln, and then to the see of Lichfield and Coventry, by him.

Grosseteste being at this time doctor of divinity, Mr. Wood insinuates, that he stooped from his dignity by condescending to the request of a person so meanly learned as the deacon *Agnellus Pisanus*, and labouring in this manner in the Franciscan school (*c*). But, for my part, I have a very different idea of this matter, and so had Robert Bacon, who, though he was a doctor of divinity and public professor, or lecturer, yet thought it not beneath him, when old, to read in the schools of the Black Friars for several years (*d*). The monks were lazy and

(*a*) See an ample account of the schools of the several monastic orders in the universities, in Bishop Kennet's *Par. Antiq.* p. 213, seq.

(*b*) Leland in Tanner, *Biblioth.* p. 750.

(*c*) Wood, p. 71.

(*d*) Tanner, *Biblioth.* p. 62.

ignorant,

ignorant, scarce ever preaching to the people (*a*); and as Robert saw the want and necessity of this important service, and as the friars particularly professed to devote themselves to the office, he certainly could not do better than to qualify them, in the best manner he was able, for the duty they intended to discharge. For this reason he continued his lectures to the friars, and to all others that would attend, till he was made bishop (*b*). For I conceive, that the general place of his abode, as far as was consistent with his duty of residence at the cathedrals, whereof he was a member, was the university of Oxford.

The professor's lectures were extremely useful and beneficial to the friars, both for the purpose of preaching and disputation; and not less so to many others, who, availing themselves of his institutes, improved themselves into eminent divines (*c*). Some friars profited so well by his instructions, that partly through their assiduity in preaching (*d*), and partly through the laudable advances they made in all good literature, Robert became attached to them, and selected them for his particular favourites and confidants; as Adam de Marisco, Joh. de Sancto Ægidio, &c. so far is it from being true, that our bishop opposed the friars, as is reported by John Fox (*e*). The subjects of his lectures may be in part guessed, from the *dicta* which

(*a*) Mr. Warton, History of English Poetry, p. 288; M. Parker, p. 236.

(*b*) Unde [a cathedra scholarum fratrum minorum] et assumptus fuit ad cathedram praelatiæ. Annal. Lanercost. p. 342.

(*c*) Mr. Wood particularly mentions friar Henry, brother of Albert provincial of the order, and friar Vincent of Coventry.

(*d*) This talent, after the friars had degenerated from the purity of their first institution, had a very malignant effect upon religion; for as the friars became the mere tools and emissaries of the papacy, they propagated all the corruptions of Popery in their sermons, and at the same time abetted all the manœuvres and machinations of that court for pillaging the people.

(*e*) Martyr. I. p. 542.

will be mentioned in the Catalogue of his Works. These *dicta* are distinguished from his sermons, and are apparently short comments on various topics of theology, and on divers passages of Holy Scripture, whence Mr. Wharton and others very justly suppose them to have been his exercises in the schools(*a*).

Bishop Tanner informs us, that anno 1225, Robert was rector of *Albodeslegb* in the archdeaconry of Nottingham; but as I find no such place in Nottinghamshire, I imagine it must be the rectory now called *Ashley* in the county and archdeaconry of Northampton, then in the diocese of Lincoln(*b*). Robert was only a deacon when Hugh de Welles collated him to this benefice, though he was then doctor of divinity; but soon after he was intrusted with the care of souls, he became a candidate, no doubt, for the order of priesthood, it appearing, from his own sentiments in regard to this matter, and his proceedings with the clergy of his diocese after he was made bishop (whom he compelled to take priest's orders(*c*), that he held it to be absolutely necessary for the parochical incumbents to be invested with the priesthood.

Bishop Tanner again puts a query, whether Robert was not rector of St. Margaret's, Leicester? and he quotes so good authority for it, as to incline one to believe it(*d*). I take the case to have been this; there is a prebend of this title in the church of Lincoln; and as the archdeacons are all prebendaries, Robert probably enjoyed this prebend as archdeacon of Leicester. However, he certainly had a rectory with his prebend(*e*), but resigned it in the year 1232(*f*).

(*a*) Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 346. See the Catalogue of the Bishop's Works.

(*b*) The advowson of Ashley is now in private hands; but might then be in the fee, or fall to the Bishop by lapse.

(*c*) Appendix, N° VI. art. 27.

(*d*) Rot. Arch. Leyc. anno primo.

(*e*) Brown, Fascic. II. p. 354.

(*f*) See below, anno 1234.

While

While Robert was archdeacon of Leicester, A. D. 1231, he had a contest with the abbat and convent of Redd. (*a*), who claimed an annual payment from him, which, as they alledged, they had received from him (*b*), and before his time, and even time out of mind, by the hands of the rectors of Albodeil (*c*). This the archdeacon denied, because the rent in the latter days of his predeceffor had been sequestered by the ordinary, in order to force the convent to shew their title to it. The matter, however, was in a way of compromise, and a day was appointed for the meeting of their proctors at Salisbury. But he afterwards petitioned his adversaries to prolong the time to about Whitfunday, because, as it was necessary for him to go abroad, he could not well return till that time; at least, that they would postpone it till within a day or two of the time fixed for trial; but they refused.

It is not known on what occasion Robert was to travel at this time; but he designed to go soon after the Epiphany.

A former meeting had been appointed at Durham, which, as Robert could not attend, the convent suggested that he might have named some day about Christmas. He proposed, at last, to refer the matter in difference to Richard Poore (*d*), bishop of Durham; or, if they chose any other method of treating, he would meet them at Durham, or nearer, now his voyage was deferred, if God spared life and health (*e*). How this business ended we are not informed.

(*a*) Reading in Berkshire. The matter in dispute seems to be a pension from the clerk of Albodell, claimed by the convent; which, Robert says, he was strictly forbidden by the ordinary to pay, till the convent had made good their right to it.

(*b*) He could not have paid it long.

(*c*) Probably written short for Albodelleslegh, i. e. Ashley.

(*d*) He had been his patron whilst he sat at Sarum, giving him the archdeaconry of Wilts.

(*e*) Brown, Fascic. II. p. 307. seqq.

The Jews became inmates of this kingdom in the reign of William the Conqueror, at the latest; and there seems to be some traces of their being here before that æra (*a*). Thenceforward, however, we find mention made of them, more or less, in every reign, till their general expulsion, in the reign of Edward II. (*b*)

King John, notwithstanding the assurances given to this people at the beginning of his reign, and all the favour and indulgence, privileges and immunities, which he granted them afterwards, laid a very heavy hand upon them. He invited them into the kingdom and caressed them, with a design of enriching them, that upon occasion he might empty their treasures into his own coffers; and this he did not fail to do (*c*). But now his son, Henry III. treated them with lenity and moderation. In his first year he set at liberty those whom he found in prison,

(*a*) Dr. Tovey, *Ang. Judaica*, p. 2. seqq. The evidence, however, adduced from the charter of Witglaff king of Mercia, in Ingulphus, is not admissible, that instrument being certainly spurious; unless you will say, that, supposing it not genuine, it may be received in regard to this point, as the forger of it would certainly take care not to expose himself to a detection by such a matter as this.

(*b*) Dr. Tovey, indeed, could find nothing concerning them in the long reign of king Henry I. which he thinks strange*; and endeavours to account for it from the paucity of our records in that age. He was persuaded, however, notwithstanding both the deficiency of the records, and the silence of the historians, *that the Jews continued here during the king's whole reign*†. And he is undoubtedly right in that notion; for king John, in that ample charter of privileges which he granted to his people in the second year of his reign, and printed by Dr. Tovey himself‡, refers expressly to the *happy establishment of the Jews here* in the reign of his great-grandfather, or king Henry I. §

(*c*) He not only persecuted them often, but extorted from them, at one time, 60,000 marks. See also Burton's *Antiquities of Leicestershire*, p. 133. Stowe, p. 133.

* "What is something surprizing, we find not the least mention of the Jews, during all this time, either in our records, or historians." Tovey, p. 10.

† Tovey, p. 11.

‡ P. 63.

§ "Sciatis nos concessisse omnibus Judæis Angliæ & Normanniæ, libere & honorifice habere residentiam in terra nostra, & omnia illa de nobis tenenda quæ tenuerunt de rege Henrico, avo patris nostri, . . . & quod habeant omnes libertates, & consuetudines suas, sicut eas habuerunt tempore prædicti regis H. avi patris nostri, melius & quietius & honorabilius," &c.

and

and in his second he issued forth orders for their protection against all persons, particularly the *croiséés*, and the spiritual courts. Thus matters were carried at first, though not with equal lenity afterwards (*a*). Indeed, Henry actually seized their effects.

The learned of this age saw it clearly written in the word of God, that, before the final consummation of all things, the Jews were to be converted to the Christian faith. Master Gislebert, a Frenchman perhaps, however a learned monk of Croyland, attempted to convert them, in his sermons at Cambridge, in the beginning of the twelfth century, and actually prevailed with some to embrace the Christian faith (*b*). These Jews, of whom there were a large number settled in the kingdom at this time, had sometimes been forced to renounce their religion, and embrace Christianity, in order to save their lives (*c*), as was the case of Benedict, in the riot which happened on the day of the coronation of king Richard I. but such involuntary compliances, as is the nature of force and compulsion when applied to the acts of the mind, generally terminated in relapses, as that of Benedict did, who declared afterwards to the king, that what he had done was the effect of fear, and that he was still a Jew in his heart. It was time, therefore, for those who had an eye towards the conversion of this people (*d*), to think of better motives than fear, and more rational methods than violence and severity, for the obtaining of this desirable end. And the presumption was, that many might possibly be disposed to relinquish the re-

(*a*) M. Paris, pp. 550, 605, 725, 747, 778, 785, 831, 856.

(*b*) Petr. Blesensis, Contin. Hist. Ingulphi, p. 114.

(*c*) This was the case of John Pfefferkorn. Epist. obsc. Virorum, p. 51. Indeed the converts, if you will believe the author of that book, were very insincere. Vide p. 239.

(*d*) It was part of the business afterwards of the Dominican friars to preach to this people. Mr. Tanner's Pref. to Bishop Tanner's Notitia, p. xxi.

ligion of their fathers upon reasons of conscience, and the force of conviction; but that being poor (*a*), and sure of being despised and mal-treated by the zealots of their own sect, they dared not venture to take such a step. It was therefore thought proper by the young king to make some competent provision for the encouragement and reception of such willing profelytes to the faith of Christ. And if, as it might happen, the establishment of a public charity in their favour, should draw some few to the outward profession of our religion, from views merely lucrative, yet this was a far more valuable motive than fear or necessity; and the casual abuse of a charitable institution, calculated in other respects for the effecting of much good to the souls of men, ought not by any means to obstruct the carrying so laudable a design into execution. The Jews also, in these times, were esteemed to be the king's property (*b*); and consequently to be more immediately under his protection; a consideration which would naturally lead him to endeavour at their conversion.

Thus, A. D. 1231, the king began a *domus conversorum* (*c*), intended for the support of those Jews who should become Christians, and the house was soon filled (*d*). The Jews had

(*a*) The Jews are commonly supposed to be a wealthy people, whence we have the proverb, *as rich as a Jew*; and, no doubt, there were formerly, as well as now, many rich people amongst them. Tovey, p. 35. But the Jews, generally speaking, were poor then, as they are now; and the proverb took its rise from the observation of some few of them that were immensely and uncommonly opulent.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 902.

(*c*) It was opened, I think, A. D. 1233, M. Paris, p. 393. It is now the Rolls on the East side of Chancery-lane, and was intended for the reception of such Jews as should be converted to Christianity. Ibid. And an annual pension of 700 marks was issued out of the Exchequer, till such time as the king could endow the foundation more amply. Edward I. gave the deodands all over England to the same use. There was a master, and two or three chaplains, with a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which is now the Rolls chapel. Madox, Hist. of Excheq. p. 259.

(*d*) M. Paris, p. 393, 644. A. D. 1391, in the reign of Richard II. a Jew was baptized, and the king gave him two pence a day for life. Stow, Chron. p. 306. This was after the expulsion of this people, A. D. 1377.

other-

otherwise great encouragement to turn Christians, for their baptism was esteemed a pardon for all former crimes. This house continued in being till the general expulsion of this people, in the reign of Edward II. when the number of converts would necessarily diminish; and accordingly, A. D. 1377, on the misbehaviour of the converts, as Sir H. Spelman writes (a), the mastership of this house was annexed by patent to the master or keeper of the rolls in chancery (b).

One great matter in question between Jews and Christians, was a right notion of the nature and end of the ceremonial law. Both parties were agreed in believing in Moses, but they differed widely in the former point; the Jew contending, that the law of ceremonies was an independent scheme of religion, to be perfected by the Advent of a Messiah, and consequently was to be of perpetual duration. The Christian, on the contrary, asserted, that the law was only of a preparatory nature, was connected with a subsequent revelation, and was to be regarded only as a schoolmaster leading unto Christ, to whose purer, and more sublime institution, it had a manifest reference.

As this was a grand subject of contention, and we have now remaining an excellent work of Grosseteste's *de cessatione legalium*, a performance, perhaps, the most valuable of all his productions, it may seem no improbable conjecture, that he wrote the book on this occasion. We find other writers (c) of this, or the next age, engaged in the same subject, and bringing out books with the like title, whence some may imagine, that coming after our author, and enjoying the benefit of his labours, their volumes would be more full

(a) Gloss. v. *Domus Conversorum*.

(b) Tanner, *Notitia*, p. 314.

(c) The Black Friars were seated in the Jewry at Oxford for this particular purpose. Wood, p. 62.

and complete (*a*) ; but this is not always the case with later productions ; and it is certain, that Groffeteste's work has survived the injuries and depredations of time, whilst theirs have been totally lost. This tract is entirely polemical, and is evidently written against the Jews, though he names them not ; he states such arguments as might be used, or had been used, by any writers, in favour of the permanency of the law, in the fairest and most candid manner, and replies to them all with the utmost temper and moderation ; inasmuch that it were to be wished our modern disputants would follow the example of this great man, and would debate all points of controversy with equal coolness and equanimity.

The work here mentioned is not the only one, in which Groffeteste combated the Jews ; for taking the testaments of the twelve patriarchs, in which such evident testimony is given concerning our Saviour, to be genuine, he translated them from Greek into Latin, for the conviction of the Jews (*b*).

King John was a person of no religion, was scarcely a Christian in shew, neither troubling himself whether he were one or not, nor caring for the sentiments of others concerning him. He is said to have offered his kingdom, in his distresses, to the king of Morocco, proposing to turn Mahometan himself, and to extirpate Christianity here (*c*). Henry III. was in this respect far more constant and steady ; he not only preserved a fair appearance of religion in himself, but also endeavoured to prevent the growth and increase of Judaism in

(*a*) The printed copy of Groffeteste's work is not the whole of his performance ; but for this, and other particulars concerning it, we refer to the catalogue of his writings.

(*b*) *Ad majorem Judæorum confusionem.* M. Paris, p. 597. See a farther account of this translation hereafter ; as also in the catalogue of his works.

(*c*) M. Paris, A. D. 1213.

his kingdom, and even, as in the case before us, to win unbelievers unto his own profession.

Robert was attacked with an acute fever before All Saints, 1232 (*a*), but soon recovered his health perfectly. He had then resigned all his preferments but his prebend of Lincoln (*b*), and thereupon tells his sister *J*, who was a nun, and had written to enquire after his health, that he hoped she would not be concerned for his taking such a step, or grieve, ‘ Si spontanee factus est pauperior, ut virtutibus fiat ditior; si mundo sit despectior, ut cœli civibus sit acceptior; si propter bonum obedientiæ reliquit quædam temporalia; cum nulla virtus nisi per obedientiam mercatur cœlestia?’ He goes on, and tells her, ‘ Abrenuntiat enim mundo vera religio, juxta vocem veritatis, dicentis, [Luc. xiv. 33.] “ nisi quis renunciaverit omnibus quæ possidet, non potest esse meus discipulus;” et sicut ait beatus Gregorius, “ Piæ mentes hæc temporalia, et cum desunt, non quærunt, et graviter etiam cum affunt, ferunt, quia per exteriorum curas a se exire pertimescunt (*c*).”

Robert had conversed so long with the friars, that he was caught with the speciousness of their goodly pretences; preaching, and the vow of poverty, were captivating things with him; but yet his self-denial, it seems, did not extend to total exinanition, for he thought proper to retain his canonry. One would think it probable, that, after this great change in the circumstances of his affairs, he resided altogether on his prebend, or at the cathedral; and yet there is good reason for believing he

(*a*) I can fix it to no earlier year, as he then had resigned his preferments.

(*b*) That which he enjoyed to qualify him for the archdeaconry of Leicester. Quære, if it was not at this time that he had thoughts of becoming a friar. See ad. an. 1245.

(*c*) Fascic. II. p. 310.

was much at Oxford (*a*). It appears from a passage in the register of Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, cited by Mr. Wood, that Robert had been chancellor of that University by the title of *Magister Scholarium vel Scholarum* (*b*). The time of his filling this high literary post is not precisely known (*c*), but it seems to have been but just before his elevation to the see of Lincoln (*d*). And as he was nominated to the office by his constant friend bishop de Welles (*e*), it must have been before February 1234, when the bishop died.

The king was at Oxford in June, 1234, and issued a remarkable mandate to the mayor and bailiffs for the expulsion of prostitutes, and the concubines of clerks, who were to be ordered to leave the village in eight days (*f*). And if any should either remain there after the time limited, or any fresh woman should enter the place, that they should be seized by order of the chancellor, or of Mr. Robert Grosseteste, or friar Robert Bacon, and detained (*g*) till the king's further pleasure should be known (*h*). This shews that Grosseteste was not chancellor at the time, but only a leading personage in the University.

We have now gone through Robert's preparatory studies, and his previous preferments, in such manner as we are able, so as to have brought him to the threshold of the episcopate. But it should be here noted, that, according to Richard of Bardney, he was a man much employed also in secular affairs, and even about the king's business. He was his majesty's secretary, keeper

(*a*) Thus the annals of Lanercost say he was fetched to the see from the Franciscan schools. p. 342.

(*b*) Wood, Hist. p. 141. Le Neve, p. 440.

(*c*) Wood's Hist. vol. II. p. 389. Le Neve, p. 440.

(*d*) 'In principio creationis suæ in Episcopum,' Wood, p. 141.

(*e*) Wood, p. 141.

(*f*) Kennett, Par. Ant. p. 217.

(*g*) In *priora* regis mittantur. f. leg. in *prisona* regis.

(*h*) Donec rex aliud inde percipit. f. præceperit.

of the privy seal, and a great man at court (*a*). But as we have no other evidence of all this; as M. Paris, in particular, takes no notice of these great and honourable employments, but represents him as passing his time chiefly at Oxford, and in his studies, we can regard it only as poetical embellishment (*b*). Indeed, I cannot discover that Robert was ever indebted to any lay-patron for advancement in any kind.

Hugh de Welles died the 7th or 8th of February, A. D. 1234-5, an incident which proved of great consequence in the event to Grosseteste, his particular friend and favourite, since through the weight of his own personal merit, now universally acknowledged, he was elected by the chapter of Lincoln, and the king with all facility consented to their choice of him to be bishop of the extensive and opulent see of Lincoln (*c*). He was consecrated at

(*a*) Dum floreret adhuc studiis ætate virili
Clericus, ad Regis cogitur obsequia.

Again,

———— Regis amicus erat.
In regis mensa prior inter regis amicos
Efficitur——
Secretarius hic regi, custosque sigilli
Postea privati, regi jubente fuit.

Ejus Consilium, Doctrinam rex veneratur. Ric. de Bardney.

(*b*) He is thought to have read at Oxford, A. D. 1230. Mr. Warton, Hist. of Eng. Poetr. Dissert. II. p. cxlii.

(*c*) In Lent. Le Neve.

The steps and dates were these;

19 Henry III. February 13, the Congé d'Eslire issued. Tanner; who likewise may be consulted for the following dates.

March 27, 1235, he was elected by the dean and chapter. Wharton de Episc. Lond. and Asav. p. 317. M. Paris, p. 409, M. Parker, p. 255.

April 5 the king approved of the election, and sent his letter to archbishop Edmund, who confirmed him.

April 16 the temporalities were restored, and

June 17, he was consecrated along with Hugh, bishop of St. Asaph. Le Neve and Willis say May 18, M. Paris has June 3, Dr. Cave June 10. Dr. Thomas Gascoigne cited by Wood, p. 106, says circa Festum St. Albani, or June 22;

at Reading, by Archbishop Edmund (*a*), in the abbey church. It was not usual at this time for the Suffragan Bishops of the Province of Canterbury to be consecrated any where but in the metropolitical church, and the convent of Canterbury interposed their claim accordingly upon this occasion; but consented at last to let the ceremony proceed, lest the labour and charges of the attendance should be lost, and upon condition that this case should not be drawn into a precedent; as likewise under a protestation, that they would never agree to any such irregularity in future. The right, I apprehend, was with the convent (*b*); but nevertheless it had often been superseded before, as it was after this time, notwithstanding all their precaution (*c*).

Before Robert was consecrated, a certain monk presented a deacon to him for institution to a large cure. The party had not the tonsure, and contrary to canon was dressed in red, wore

Annals of Lanercost St. Michael's Day; but I follow Mr. Wharton, l. 100, who *inter alia* cites the Bishop's Profession of obedience.

February 2, 1235, he was enthroned. Le Neve and Tanner; from Annals of Tewkesbury.

(*a*) The assisting suffragans were, Joceline, bishop of Bath and Wells; Robert, bishop of Sarum; Roger, bishop of London; Hugh, bishop of Ely; and Ralph, bishop of Hereford. M. Paris, p. 409; Gascoigne in A. Wood, p. 106; Wharton de Episc. Lond.; and Asap. p. 317; M. Parker, p. 255.

(*b*) Archbishop Edmund consecrated William de Raley, bishop of Norwich, in St. Paul's Church, London. Matth. Par. p. 515. But this was because the chapter of Canterbury was under suspension. For the same reason he consecrated Hugh de Patishull, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, at a priory in Surrey, p. 532. Peter de Equeblanc was consecrated at St. Paul's; but the monks of Canterbury entered their protest, p. 456. See Groffeteste's Letter to the archbishop on this subject, in Brown, p. 313, and Mr. Brown, p. 374.

(*c*) Mr. Parker, p. 255. Richard de Wendover was consecrated bishop of Rochester, at St. Gregory's, Canterbury. Le Neve, p. 248. H. de Lexinton, bishop of Lincoln, was consecrated in the New Temple, London. Le Neve.

a ring,

a ring, and in his whole habit and carriage resembled a layman or a knight; to say nothing of his deficiency in literature. The bishop elect consequently rejected him, but was blamed by many for being too severe; and Mr. Michael Belet (a) wrote him a reproof on the occasion. Robert took *Michael's* rebuke in good part, and in his answer amply justified himself to his friend for his conduct in this matter, grounding his defence on the young man's apparent non-compliance with the canons; and that, as he was immediately intended for the care of souls, his correction of him ought to be the more rigid and severe. The monk, however, and the deacon, were not satisfied, but continued their clamours; which Robert little valued (b).

Robert was no sooner warm on his throne, but he wrote to his holiness, Gregory IX. and sent him, what he calls, *a small present*; he wrote also to the Cardinals *Giles* and *Thomasius* (c), to bespeak their favour; to Reimund, the Dominican, a person in high esteem with his holiness, if not his confessor (d); to Ernulf, the pope's penitentiary, and to J. de Ferentino, the chamberlain (e); for the purpose of intreating their assistance in expediting all his laudable business at the Court of Rome, both respecting himself and his see (f). And, taking into confi-

(a) He officiated as king's butler, at the king's marriage. M. Paris, p. 421.

(b) Brown, Fascic. II. p. 311.

(c) Grosseteste gave Richard de Cornubia the prebend of St. Martin in his cathedral at the request of this cardinal. Brown, p. 337. Willis, vol. I. 217.

(d) Vide Cave, p. 627.

(e) Vide Chron. Petrib. p. 92; M. Paris, p. 214, 372, ubi malè *Florentinus*; M. Parker, p. 236; et annot. Cave, p. 659; Le Neve, p. 217. He was arch-deacon of Norwich, and being a foreigner, was forced to fly for his life, A. D. 1232.

(f) The Bishop kept a proctor constantly resident at Rome. Brown, p. 335, 348, and was thought, A. D. 1238, to have great interest with the Pope and Cardinals, p. 346. He afterwards wrote to Ralph, cardinal deacon of St. Eustachius, to gain his friendship, p. 348; and to Thomas, cardinal, p. 350.

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deration the vast extent of his see, he sent to Jordan, general prior of the Dominicans, to permit John de St. Giles (*a*), the friar, to reside with him as an assistant; and to Helias, minister general of the Franciscans, desiring him to write to the friars at the court, to promote and further all matters of honest business there, and to let two or four friars of this order live with him, and become his assistants in like manner. It appears again, that, with the pope's consent, two Dominicans were assigned to assist him in his pastoral care; and he wrote to the prior provincial of England, about 1242, to send him two without delay; complaining, at the same time, that it was no advantage to him to have their persons so often changed, as new men could not be so expert in the business required of them, as those who had more experience in it (*b*). But what is most extraordinary, he pressed pope Innocent at Lyons, anno 1245, to permit some friars to be constantly assisting to archbishop Boniface, who indeed wanted every mode of assistance; and he thought it of so much consequence, that he wrote to one of the cardinals to remind his holiness of it, fearing he would forget it (*c*).

One of the first things the bishop turned his thoughts upon, after his inthronization, was writing a letter to his archdeacons, recommending it to them to reform certain abuses, which had crept into the diocese (*d*), and, as he tells us himself, a visitation of

(*a*) He will be mentioned again in a future page. After the death of St. Dominic, about A. D. 1223, he became general of the order, and died soon after this application to Groffeste. We find him as an author in Cave, Hist. Lib. p. 626.

(*b*) 'Ego, post meam in Episcopum creationem, consideravis me esse Episcopum et Pastorem animarum; et ideo necesse habere, ne sanguis ovium in districto judicio de manu mea requiratur, cum diligentia, sicut disponit et præcipit scriptura, oves mihi commissas visitare.' Wharton, A. S. p. 347.

(*c*) Brown, p. 388.

(*d*) Ibidem, p. 738. See also, p. 388.

the various parts of the diocese. And he usually went for this purpose through the several archdeaconries and deaneries, requiring the clergy to appear before him at a fixed time and place; and admonishing the people likewise to attend, in order to have their children confirmed, to hear the word of God, and to make their confession (*a*). The bishop himself usually preached to the clergy, and some friar, Franciscan or Dominican, lectured the people. Four friars were afterwards employed in hearing confessions, and injoining penance. After the children had been confirmed, that day, and the following, the bishop and his clerks proceeded to make enquiries and correct abuses.

The power of hearing confessions indulged to the friars gave great offence to the secular clergy, who could not but regard it as an invasion of their province, and a bare-faced encroachment on their rights and privileges (*b*). It afterwards proved the ground of much odium, in respect of the friars themselves, as by investing them with an arbitrary and almost unlimited dominion over the secrets and consciences, and even the purses, of the people, it made them wanton and dissolute, and brought them at last into universal contempt.

There is no surer way of learning the state of religion amongst us, at any given time, than by having recourse to the articles of enquiry issued by our church governors in order to visitation, when these can be had. And as it happens, the author of the Annals of Burton has preserved that body, consisting of 35 heads, which Roger de Weseham, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, gave out, 1252, for the use of his diocese (*c*). This pre-

(*a*) Brown, *ubi supra*. See also Kennet, p. 221.

(*b*) Ibid.

(*c*) Annales Burton. p. 317. There is another set of articles there, A. D. 1253, concerning both clergy and laity, and general to all England.

late is expressly said to have made his visitation, *exemplo Roberti Grossi-capitis Lincolnienſis Episcopi*, whence it seems to follow, that these episcopal visitations were not very common with our prelates at this period (*a*); and that bishop Groſſeteste's articles were in substance much the same with those of Weseham (*b*). I have for this reason remitted Weseham's enquiries into the Appendix (*c*), as also bishop Groſſeteste's constitutions or statutes (*d*), which were probably drawn up on the same occasion; and contribute much, as well as the articles, to give light into the true state of things at this time. Here, without being too minute and particular (*e*), I shall enter a general observation or two respecting the articles.

When the Court of Rome is once determined on a point, she prosecutes it with vigour indefatigable. The celibacy of the clergy, projected before, was publicly and universally enjoined by a decree of archbishop Anſelm, anno 1102, and was enforced afterwards by canon after canon; and even now, as late as 1236, the non-conformity of the clergy, who were always extremely loth to be driven into this hard and unnatural measure, is made a subject of enquiry (*f*). So that it seems the celibacy

(*a*) The bishops of Lincoln had been accustomed from time immemorial to visit the religious houses in the diocese, and to receive procurations from them on the occasion, loc. cit. but the parochial clergy had been left to the archdeacons and rural deans. Hence Groſſeteste says, in reference to this matter, *de inſuetis, autem pauca, ſi placet, benignius audiantur*.

(*b*) Ibid. and I much question, whether an episcopal visitation of this kind had been made in any diocese before this; though the bishops were accustomed to go to officiate at distant churches. Bede, p. 138. Stephens on Procurat. y. 109, 293.

(*c*) Appendix, N^o VI.

(*d*) Appendix, N^o V.

(*e*) Some explanatory annotation will be on the text in the Appendix.

(*f*) See Art. 6. as also 15. of Otto's Canons, 1237. Annal. Dunſtap. p. LXXI. XCIV. Cave, p. 661. Our Appendix VI. art. 13.

of

of the clergy was not yet fully established, notwithstanding all the violent efforts which had been made in its favour for more than a century. But this we need not wonder at, since it was indeed the boldest and most desperate attack that ever was made upon the natural rights of mankind. I speak here of the nature of the attempt; that a groundless and mere arbitrary injunction should be expected to over-rule and annihilate mens innate affections, and that the clergy, so large a body as they now were, were universally to be brought to receive it with tameness and submission (*a*). The drift and tendency of the proceeding, no doubt, was to draw all the wealth of the clergy from their relations and connections into the church (*b*). But behold now the fatal consequence of depriving the clergy of their Christian liberty in this vigorous and compulsatory manner!

The church was overrun with a deluge of incontinence, fornication, and adultery (*c*); and, what was then deemed a most aggravated crime, the clergy even frequented and attempted the nunneries (*d*).

Many vicarages (*e*) had been already ordained by the late bishop Hugh de Welles (*f*), and bishop Grosseteste established many more (*g*).

(*a*) See below, A. 1246, when the pope made an attempt to become heir to the intestate clergy.

(*b*) Du Pin, 13th cent. p. 156.

(*c*) The celibacy of the clergy was fallen into infinite crimes and scandals into the very corrupting of their principles, and making it a less fault to have *ten whores* abroad than *one wife*, or, as they call it, a *concubine* at home, which Sir Thomas More remembers to have been defended by a *divine* of his acquaintance. Knight, Life of Colet, p. 113.

(*d*) 4th, 7th, and 14th articles: as also the 15th of Otto's canons: also our Appendix, N° VI. art. 14.

(*e*) As to the origin of vicarages, &c. the reader may consult, if he pleases, our Appendix, N° VII.

(*f*) ~~See Life of this prelate.~~ 244.

(*g*) His register is chiefly filled with institutions, and ordinations of vicarages: and see below, A. 1252.

The 25th article appears to point to his intention of doing it every where; 'An vicariæ sint per episcopum taxatæ:' for the expression *per episcopum taxatæ* can relate to nothing else but *endowing* of the vicarages; for why, else, should not the rectories be mentioned? It is true, the word *taxatæ*, in the common and obvious sense of it, signifies to rate to a tax or tribute (*a*); but at the same time it is also equivalent to *ordinatæ* or *dotatæ*, and therefore here implies, 'have the vicarages a permanent value' or annual income settled upon them by the authority of the diocesan? This sense the words *taxare* and *taxatio* will commodiously bear (*b*); and every one knows, that the diocesan bishop was the proper officer to settle and adjust the appointments of the perpetual vicars; in other words, to fix and ascertain their endowments.

The bishop is represented by M. Paris as favouring the vicars on these occasions, and oppressing the monasteries; hence he says of him, 'ut religiosorum proventus mutilaret, et partes vicariorum adaugeret (*c*),' and informs us further, that in 1252 he had applied to the pope for his particular mandate to proceed in making those permanent endowments, and obtained it (*d*); and, what is extraordinary, that there was a clause of *Non obstante* in the instrument, by which his lordship was

(*a*) Something will be said in Appendix, N° VIII. on the Origin and Nature of *Valores Beneficiorum* (which indeed were begun before this time), though the word *taxatæ* here does not belong to them.

(*b*) Du Fresne interprets *taxatio*, by *pretium*, *æstimatio*; and the word is in that sense applied to vicarages, and in regard to their endowment, in Thorne's Chronicle, col. 2088, 2089. See also M. Paris, p. 840; Annal. Burton. 1220. Willis, Survey of Cath. of St. Asaph, p. 191. Orderic. Vit. p. 656, where it signifies to settle, adjust, appoint. On an induction to a rectory it is said, 'Salva vicaria per dilectum filium magrum R. de Weseham, archidum Oxon. in eadem *taxata*.' Reg. Groffeteste, 1237.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 840.

(*d*) V. p. 211.

empowered to take cognizance and act in this behalf, even in the exempt and privileged churches (*a*). And, according to that author, his regulations were guided more by his hatred to the monks, than by any real love he had for the vicars, which, I make no doubt, is a downright calumny; however, he concludes, that, under the sanction of this mandate, *multis religiosis damna intulit et gravamina*; and yet one may venture to say, that the bishop, in such a business, would never transgress the rules of equity between the parties; he was too just in himself, and had no interest to serve; so that the *damna* and *gravamina* have no other foundation than his impartiality, a grievance sufficient in the eye of Matthew.

This visitation, to judge from the bishop's own account of it, and the articles of enquiry previously issued in order thereunto, was well calculated for obtaining the good ends proposed, especially at a time when ecclesiastical discipline was in full force. It was thought, however, to be very strict and severe (*b*), and some of the clergy (for they are the persons whom I understand by *quidam* in this case (*c*)) came to him on his *first* visitation (by which it should seem, that he made those parochial visitations more than once (*d*)), and told him, as if they disapproved of the proceeding, *that it was new and unprecedented*; to which he returned answer, 'Every new thing, which instructs, improves, and perfects a man, is a new blessing,' &c. And his lordship was not sensible at that time that any material inconvenience could accrue, either to clergy or laity, by means of such visitation. But afterwards in 1250 he conceived it might be converted into a grievance. He says, that 'from many things

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 211.

(*b*) Ibidem, p. 716.

(*c*) Wharton, A. S. II, p. 347.

(*d*) M. Paris, pp. 716, 825.

he then saw, he was well assured, that unless 'the Holy See' would interpose and remedy the evil, his successors, on pretence of visitation, would extort new and unusual procurations, 'to the great scandal and damage of the Gospel of Christ (a).' His lordship had a thorough knowledge of mankind, and was well aware, that unless his successors were as upright and disinterested as himself, which would not always happen, the clergy, as matters then stood, might be heavily burthened. What would excite his successors to oppression, he reckoned, was, unless they were absolutely spiritually-minded, *a love of filthy lucre*, which might induce them to subsist and maintain themselves by procurations, and so put the ordinary revenues of the bishoprick in their pockets (b). It should be observed, that these reflections occurred to his lordship in 1250, when he was startled at the oppressive and violent proceedings of Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury (c). This prelate was not only a foreigner, but a person of no worth or learning, much fitter to follow the banner of Mars, than that of the Holy Lamb. He had bent his mind on raising money, and for that purpose began a visitation both in his diocese and province, proposing to scrutinize the bishops, abbots, clergy, and people, with no better view than that of extorting what money he could from all. After he had well squeezed his own church of Canterbury, he proceeded to London, seizing the bishop of Chichester's house for the place of his abode, without asking leave (d), and exacting provisions from the citizens. Fulk Basset then sat in the see of London, a per-

(a) M. Paris, p. 348.

(b) Ibidem.

(c) This primate received four marks *per diem* when he visited. M. Parker, p. 283. See below, An. 1250.

(d) Richard de la Wiche, who had been promoted chiefly by Boniface's interest.

son remarkable for his piety and learning; but Boniface, having no veneration for such despicable qualities, treated him most unworthily, and even infamously, and that in the most public manner. This was the horrible example that struck bishop Grosseteste, and caused him to waver in opinion, in respect of the expediency of visitation, though he was always very moderate in his own demands (a). But to finish this matter, and indeed it is a matter of importance; it might be alledged, that at this rate, if the prelates were to receive no procurations, they would be remiss and negligent in this very essential branch of their function. The bishop replied, that such as visited merely for the emoluments would either perform the business perfunctorily, attending only to the receipt of the money and the entertainment, or would become farmers of sins, by receiving from offenders a sum of money, and leaving them, in consideration of that, to continue in their evil courses; and so he concludes, 'By how much I, who am the bishop of Lincoln, am more the pastor of that flock than the archbishop, who, as many think, is not the pastor; by how much the archbishop has more to do in discharging his duty as archbishop, than I have in performing mine as bishop; so much the more do the reasons given avail to shew, that his grace ought not to exact any unusual procurations (b).'

It is plain, from the *Propositio Roberti Grossthead de Visitatione Diocesis sue* (c), whence I write all this, that the bishop referred to the violence of archbishop Boniface, committed in 1250, when he intended to visit the diocese of Lincoln along with the other sees of the province; and I think it equally clear, that

(a) Brown, p. 338.

(b) Sir H. Chauncey, *Antiq. of Herts*, p. 63.

(c) Wharton, *A. S. II.* p. 347.

the bishop was now at Lyons, as he uses the expression, *hæc sacra sedes*, with a design of opposing the archbishop's intention, and of obtaining an inhibition from his holiness. And this good ensued from the bishop's remonstrance, that the business of procurations was settled by a bull issued in 1252 (a), in the bishop's life-time, and even directed to him along with two other prelates, which was called the *new Constitution* (b), compelled by which the archbishop became far more moderate and reserved in his demands. As to the merits of the cause, the bishop, it seems, was doubtful whether these visitations might not do more harm than good, especially in respect of the parochial clergy; but, surely, a bare possibility of abuse could be no valid objection to an institution fraught in other respects, and in regard to other parties, with so much good. Bishop de Weseham did not esteem it any, for he pursued the same track two years after, and probably before the bull abovementioned arrived here. However, bishop Groffeteste's fears and apprehensions were at length finally dissipated by the holy see, when Benedict XII. in the beginning of the 14th century converted the *procurations* into a payment of a certain sum of money (c).

Another grievance, or matter of complaint, respecting the visitations, was, that the laity were compelled to accuse one another, upon oath, concerning vice and immorality. This, indeed, was very hard and unreasonable; and the king, by his rescript, in 1246, actually forbade the laity of Hertfordshire to attend our bishop, or his officers, for the purpose of taking

(a) Annal. Burton, p. 319. M. Paris, p. 863; and in Additament. p. 188, where bishop Groffeteste is a party concerned. Annal. Dunstap. p. 296, where it is said the pope had a twentieth of the rectors for this bull.

(b) Ibidem, p. 326.

(c) Sir H. Chauncey, Antiq. of Herts, p. 63.

oaths,

oaths, excepting in matrimonial or testamentary causes (*a*). We must ascribe his lordship's severity, in this behalf, partly to a violent love of discipline, and the ardency of his zeal for the promoting of virtue and goodness, an affection often subject, as is well known, to overflow, and to exceed the bounds of sense and reason; and partly to the general sense of the bishops of those times concerning this matter; they claiming a right to such a proceeding, and representing it as a grievance or an infringement of their power to be denied it (*b*).

The bishop had ever been a steady friend to Roger de Weseham; and now, in 1236, which was as soon as he could possibly promote him, he collated him to the archdeaconry of Oxford, vacant by the death, as I think, of Adam de St. Edmondsbury. This was a most honourable piece of preferment, as a place of especial trust and confidence, in regard of that influence and authority which the archdeacon of that title then had in the university (*c*). It, accordingly, had generally been in the hands of able and very considerable men; and, indeed, De Weseham was one of the best learned men of the age. He had studied at Oxford, if not at Paris; and, being doctor of divinity, was importuned by bishop Grosseteste, now that he was archdeacon, to read the public lectures in the school of the Grey Friars founded by Agnellus Pisanus; and, to oblige his friend and patron, who had formerly been employed in the same service (*d*), he thought proper to comply with his request, and might begin his prelections in 1237, or in the spring of the year 1238.

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 716.

(*b*) Ibidem, Additament. p. 300; or Prynne's Hist. of Hen. III. p. 101, b.

(*c*) Wood, Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford, pp. 60, 88, 93, 94.

(*d*) This lecture was supported by the labours of some of the most considerable men of the age. As to bishop Grosseteste, see above.

But

But as we shall meet with the name of this great scholar again, on occasion of his succeeding, 1239, to the deanery of Lincoln, and all other particulars concerning him, have been already given in the memoirs of his life (*a*), we shall for the present dismiss him.

The bishop, in 1236, extended his visitation to the monasteries, and was very strict with them and their governors; deposing the abbots of Leicester, Ouston (*b*), Torotona (*c*), Nutley, Bourne, Dorchester, Missenden; the priors of St. Frideswide, Cold Norton, Bradewel, and De la Land; and placing new heads over those houses (*d*).

(*a*) Memoirs of the Life of Roger de Weseham, London, 1761, 4to.

(*b*) *Osoltoftona*, Osulveston, Owston, co. Leic.

(*c*) Thornton, or Torrington, co. Linc.

(*d*) Annal. Dunstap. p. 230, where the following words are attended with some difficulty; 'Et Willielmus de Glovernia substitutus est apud Sanctam Frideswidam; et W. de Wiltone apud Caldenorhovere [L. Caldernortone]; qui ambo fuerunt canonici de Dunstaple, et tunc *pro infirmo* priori amoto in redditu triginta quinque *marcas*,' where for *pro infirmo* Mr. Hearne conjectures we should read, *persolvimus*; and, consequently, interprets the words in Italics of Richard de Morins, then prior of Dunstaple, who died 1242. 'Eodem anno [MCCXLII] quinto Idus Aprilis, mortuus est bonæ memoriæ Ricardus de Morins, quondam prior de Dunstaple,' p. 252; imagining, from the term *quondam*, that Richard had resigned some time before his death, either voluntarily or upon compulsion; which by no means follows, as *quondam* in these cases means no more than *late*, and is so perpetually used in epitaphs. *Amoto*, in the first passage above, must mean *displaced by compulsion*, and not *voluntarily resigning*; and yet there is not the least hint given, that Richard was turned out, 1236. On the contrary, he was apparently in his post, 1242; for see the Annals, p. 252, where he makes a bargain that year. And in bishop Groffeteste's roll at Lincoln, the priory at Dunstaple is expressly said to be *vacant by the death of Richard* in the 6th year of that prelate's pontificate, vacant then, and not before: for my part, I think the allowance of 35 marks is to be understood of all the displaced priors before mentioned, though I do not know the place is to be amended, unless we should read *pro infirmitate* priori amoto, and some such words as *assignavit episcopus* are omitted. The sense then will be, that when the priors were removed on account of infirmity, and not for any crime, a proper and handsome allowance was made them; and this indeed was always done. See Memoirs of Roger de Weseham, p. 43; and below, under the year 1239.

The

The bishop was now in great danger of being embroiled with the king and his council, through the warmth of his zeal. His highness, 4 May, 1236, required Ranulph, the Benedictine abbot of Ramsey, in the diocese of Lincoln, to become one of his justices itinerant for the counties of Bedford and Bucks. This was expressly contrary to the canons of the Church, which prohibited ecclesiastics (a), and much more monks and abbots, to engage in secular business of this nature; and, therefore, the bishop, whose conscience was very nice and delicate, was apprehensive he might be subject to some degree of guilt by means of this irregularity, if he did not use his utmost endeavours to prevent it. He wrote to Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, to request his interposition with the king, in order to get the appointment of Ranulph revoked; and to ask his advice, in case the king will not do that, and the abbot should persist in his compliance, how he ought to act; for, says he, ‘if we do not oppose the thing, and prevent the abbot from proceeding by ecclesiastical censure, we shall incur a curse; and, if we do, the king and his people will probably seize on our temporalities; and as our opposition will be a new thing in these parts, we may become a laughing-stock to the worldly-wise.’ At last, however, he seems to resolve to do his duty, let what would be the consequence.

(a) Yet bishops, in this reign, were often justices itinerant. Wilkins Leg. Sax. p. 382. In archbishop Edmund’s Canons, 1236, art. 1. Priests are declared to be suspended if they had been ‘*Homicidæ, Advocati in causa sanguinis, Executores servorum in publicis administrationibus, Simoniaci, &c.*’ The words in Italic are omitted by Mr. Johnson in his translation; but I conceive, though it is but oddly expressed, that those are intended who had embarked in public secular business. See Canons 1102, 1138. Wilkins vol I. pp. 474, 477, 574. Johnson ad Canon. 1195. Canons, 1222. Our Appendix, N° VI. art. 16, 17.

The advice the archbishop gave was, that he should be quiet, and let the matter rest till a council was called (*a*). But this did not satisfy his lordship's scruples, especially as the king threatened him, upon his opposition, as an enemy to his crown and dignity; so he wrote again to the archbishop, demanding a categorical answer to this question, Whether Ranulph would sin in complying, or not? if not, it was a light matter, and might be tolerated; but if there was sin in the case, as he was clearly of opinion there was, 'we cannot,' says he, 'without involving ourselves, permit him to fall into this ditch.' And this he presses strongly upon the archbishop, and especially from the solemn promise made by bishops at their consecration, 'that they would receive, teach, and observe, the orthodox traditions of the Fathers, and the decretal constitution of the Holy See.'

The bishop, in his second letter, moved another question, about clerks being required to plead in lay-courts concerning personal actions, or any other matter but merely lay-fees, which he thought was derogatory of the liberties of the Church, as indeed it was, according to the notions of Thomas à Becket. To this doubt he accordingly expects a peremptory answer from his Grace, insisting, that clerks, by this submission, incurred the crime of disobedience, and of violating the liberties of the Church, according to the canons; and therefore, that the prelates cannot safely suffer them to do this.

The archbishop did nothing towards quieting the bishop's conscience in the matter first above-mentioned; and so when a like case happened in regard to Richard, abbot of Croyland, A. 1239, the bishop wrote to Otto, the legate, to request his assistance in

(*a*) The archbishop held a council this year, and made some constitutions, but nothing occurs in them concerning these matters.

putting a stop to the irregularity (*a*). And, when afterwards the king solicited the bishop to institute Robert de Passelewe one of his clerks, and at the time justiciary of the forest, who was presented to the church of St. Peter in Northampton, he refused to gratify him, saying, 'Regia potestas sacerdotio jувativa
' nullo modo in curâ constitutos pastoralis secularibus potest ne-
' gotiis implicare,' and that, for his part, he should ever endeavour, 'ut spiritualia tractentur ab ecclesiasticis et spirituali-
' bus; secularia vero' a secularibus, utpote militaria a mili-
' tibus.' He had been aspersed, however, upon this head, by some persons about the king, who had told his highness, that he wanted to sow dissention between the regality and the priesthood (*b*); and indeed it appears that the king was offended with his conduct, whereupon he begged of his highness to forgive the offence committed, at least until he should explain himself in their next conference together (*c*). As to the archbishop, he was a person of some worth and learning, and was afterwards a canonized saint (*d*), though he came into his see most irregularly, and uncanonically, and in the case above-stated did but shuffle and temporize. He was a person, however, on the whole, infinitely more respectable than his successor Boniface, or his constituent, Gregory IX. though one is at a loss to imagine, how a man, who so apparently broke through the established rules and laws of his country, by accepting his see on the mere arbitrary appointment of the pope, and against the consent of the legal electors, the convent of Canterbury, to say nothing of the

(*a*) Brown, p. 362.

(*b*) Ib. p. 393, 395.

(*c*) Ib. p. 394. This business of Passelewe occasioned the bishop much further trouble, as Passelewe applied to the archbishop, and obtained a mandate for his institution, p. 394.

(*d*) M. Paris, p. 386.

suffragans, should ever be deemed and honoured as a saint. He had a long and scandalous quarrel with his convent; and when, in 1240, the legate demanded a fifth, as a subsidy from the clergy to his holiness, Edmund was the first that yielded, and actually paid down 800 marks, and this for the sake of currying favour with the pope, and prevailing over the convent (*a*).

Richard Syward, or Sward, a knight of the bishop's diocese, joining with Gilbert Basset, and other great men, took part, it seems, in 1233, with *Richard Earl Mareschall* in his contentions with the king, for which all the lands of the said *Gilbert Basset* and *Richard Syward* within this same year were wasted, and their castles and houses demolished, by the power of *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*. Upon which, about *Christmas*, *Richard Syward*, to revenge those injuries, took with him a tumultuous mob, and destroyed several manors of the said earl of *Cornwall* in these parts, among which the manor of Ambrosden did probably then suffer; which so far provoked the earl, that though in the following year, on the death of *Richard Earl Mareschall*, all his abettors were restored to the king's favour, yet the said *Richard Syward*, to decline the anger of the said earl, was obliged to retire into *Scotland*, and there wait till a peace should be made for him (*b*). He was a man of consequence (*c*), and I think had been banished by the king (*d*). However, he was afterwards imprisoned, and in 1236 took the cross at the hand of the bishop, who appears to have had a good opinion of the *Crusades* (*e*), notwithstanding all the preceding ill-starred attempts for the recovery of the Holy Land. The *Croisees* were un-

(*a*) M. Paris, pp. 484, 526, 527.

(*b*) Kennet, Par. Ant. p. 212.

(*c*) M. Paris, pp. 404, 443. Kennet, p. 232.

(*d*) Ibidem, p. 427.

(*e*) Brown, pp. 330, 339. See below, under the year 1247.

der the protection of St. Peter and the pope; and the prelates were ordered, upon pain, to defend them, and to proceed against offenders by ecclesiastical censures; and Syward being in prison, the bishop both wrote to the king, and sent the abbot of Dorchester to him, to get him released.

About this time the prior of Kyme in Lincolnshire was deposed, and the bishop appointed a successor by his own proper authority, and without consulting the patron. This was resented by the patron Philip de Kyme (*a*), who thought it injurious to the right of his patronage, and his lordship wrote him a letter to mollify him, putting his proceeding upon this foot: 'that he had acted by the direction of the council; had no intention of depriving him of his just right; that there was no hardship in the case, an insufficient or improper person being only displaced to make room for a better man; and as to the neglect of not consulting the patron, that this was not usual in such cases, even the king not being advised with in respect of houses belonging to the royal patronage. Lastly, that the substitute was a worthy man, who did not seek for the preferment, but had been compelled to accept it (*b*).'

In capitular elections, patrons, or advocates of religious houses, were very little concerned in a religious way, though they would often be interfering (*c*), so that, in strictness, this baron was not at all injured. As to the bishop, he was always very strict in asserting and maintaining his own just rights, and perfectly understood them, but was far from aiming at illegal

(*a*) This baron, who was now at the head of the family, died in 1242. See an account of the family in Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. p. 620.

(*b*) Brown, p. 330.

(*c*) See Mr. West, Antiq. of Furness, p. 83.

power, or invading the rights of others. There are cases on his roll (*a*), where, on quashing elections for some irregularities, he collated the very persons who had been chosen by the chapter, or convent; which clearly evinces, that his lordship was not grasping, or greedy after devolutions; and it is plain to demonstration, that in the present instance his lordship had no interest to serve, the new prior having never solicited the appointment, but with reluctance accepted it. To be short, the bishop proceeded no further here than his episcopal authority, the known rules of the *Lex Diocesana*, as it is sometimes called, would justify him, and allow him to do (*b*).

Archbishop Edmund became a saint soon after his death, which happened in 1242; for Nicholas Farnham, bishop of Durham, founding the hospital at Gateshead about the year 1247, adopted him for the patron (*c*). St. Antony of Padua was canonized one year after his death (*d*); and Becket, who was murdered 29 December, 1171, was constituted a saint, 14 Innocent III. 1172 (*e*).

(*a*) Mr. Hearne insinuates (Pref. ad Annal. Dunstap. p. 4.), that Grosseteste's Roll was either lost, or the sight and use of it refused; but neither of these is the case. The Roll is still extant, and, whatever might be objected when Mr. Hearne's friend wanted to inspect it, Mr. John Fardell, the present worthy chapter clerk, is always ready to oblige any gentleman with the use of it. Bishop Kennet made great use both of Hugh de Wells' and Grosseteste's Rolls, as appears from the margin of his own copy of his Parochial Antiquities in the possession of Richard Gough, esq. where are many transcripts from both.

(*b*) The bishop calls him *Parochianum meum*, probably of Oxfordshire. Kennet, Par. Ant. p. 212.

(*c*) Mr. Allan, Collect. Dunelm. p. 427, alibi; and so bishop Tanner, Notitia, p. 115; but it must be confessed, that other instruments, equally authentic, give it to Edmund the king.

(*d*) Newcourt, Repert. vol. I. p. 282.

(*e*) Bullarium, vol. I. p. 62.

About this time (*a*), his lordship was desirous of visiting the cathedral of Lincoln, the prebendal churches, and the churches of the common estate (*b*), as he had done the rest of the diocese; and this, no doubt, he was impowered to do, though he acknowledges it was a new thing (*c*), of common right (*d*); but when he attempted to put his design in execution, the dean (William de Tournay (*e*)) and the canons obstinately withstood him, and refused to receive him as their visitor. This opposition laid the foundation of a long and unhappy rupture between the bishop and the members of his own church, which occasioned the suspension and deprivation of the dean in 1239, on account of his contumacy, and was not finally healed till 1245.

The first appeal of the dean and chapter was to the archbishop of Canterbury (*f*), who either declined interfering, or did nothing effectual, as appears from the progress of the business.

(*a*) Annals of Dunstaple, p. 239, and M. Paris, p. 485, seem to say 1239; but though these authors mention the quarrel for the first time in that year, yet it appears to me to have commenced before. Chron. Petrib. p. 107, places the fall of part of the cathedral in 1237; and the annalist agrees the accident happened when the bishop first differed with the chapter; and it is natural to think the bishop would proceed to the cathedral soon after visiting the diocese.

(*b*) What other matters were in dispute, may be seen in the Appendix, N° IX. and in the pope's decision below, A. 1245. In the mean time see Brown, p. 357.

(*c*) Brown, p. 359.

(*d*) He was empowered too by the pope; Brown, pp. 357, 358, 359, and the chapter had no bull of exemption, p. 357.

(*e*) He was installed 1223. He is also written *de Thornaco*. Willis, p. 34. Torney, Thorney, p. 100. He was made ~~the~~ first archdeacon of Stowe, A. 1213, *at* then archdeacon of Lincoln, A. 1218; and lastly was elected dean. He was a person of good account, and did not want spirit. He founded a chantry for one chaplain at St. Mary's altar in the cathedral, valued, at the Dissolution, at 4l. 3s. 6d. *per annum*. Willis, pp. 34, 100.

(*f*) Annal. Dunstap. p. 239.

Otto,

Otto, the legate, being in England at the time, was willing to try to reconcile the contending parties, and the bishop was desirous he should attempt it, but without effect (*a*). The dean and chapter on their parts tried to procure at Rome letters to certain delegates, unfavourable to the bishop's cause, to inhibit him from proceeding, in order to protract the suit, and to prevent his design of visiting them from ever taking place (*b*): whereas the bishop all along declared the purity of his intention in the affair, averring, 'Quantum enim nos secundum modicitatem nostram dijudicare possumus, nihil in eos [the dean and chapter] vel eorum subditos exercere contendimus, nisi quod secundum jus divinum et canonicum ad episcopale spectat officium, quodque a sede Apostolica in fulcimentum juris communis et ordinariæ potestatis nobis specialiter est concessum et indultum, et quod omittere non possumus absque discrimine animarum (*c*);' protesting at the same time, that if, through weakness and ignorance, he had done any thing not strictly canonical, he was willing to recall it upon better information, to correct his mistake, and to make satisfaction. This he said, he had often told the dean and chapter, both in writing and by word of mouth, and had desired them in friendship to shew him his mistakes (*d*), in order to his rectifying them, but this they never would do, nor even return an answer to the arguments he had urged to them in writing (*e*).

The bishop afterwards suspended William de Tournay the dean, — precentor, and William de Benningworth, sub-dean of Lincoln, for contumacy, in not revoking their mandate to

(*a*) Brown, p. 141.

(*b*) Ibidem.

(*c*) Ibidem, p. 358, and see p. 360.

(*d*) Ibidem, p. 350.

(*e*) See the letter in Brown, p. 352.

the vicars and chaplains of the prebendal churches, &c. not to obey the bishop when he proposed visiting them. This sentence, however, was soon relaxed; for on September 7 he notified to the dean and chapter his intention of visiting them on a certain day in October following. He began accordingly, soon after the 8th of September, to visit some prebends; but the prebendaries being all assembled by the dean and chapter, October 8, in the chapter-house, and a consultation had the Sunday following in the church, they obtained leave from the people (*a*) to go to Rome; and so, making their appeals, the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer (*b*), and many other canons, set forward on their journey, after sending letters and messengers to all the cathedrals in England which consisted of canons (*c*); and those bodies all combined with them, as likewise did the people in general; so that this was now become a very public affair, and the bishop was calumniated as an oppressor and malefactor. His lordship, however, went to the cathedral on the day appointed, but found neither canon, vicar, or any other minister of the church there, all of them purposely absenting themselves.

November 3, his lordship was to be in London; and the dean and canons, who were now on their journey to Rome, hearing of it, waited for him there, in order, as they said, to treat of peace and reconciliation; and many other of the canons repaired to them. The bishop now had a serious deliberation with himself and his own conscience how to act, whether to proceed to extremity, by suspending and excommunicating some of the

(*a*) Aiming, by this, at popularity.

(*b*) Walter de St. Edmundsbury.

(*c*) The dean and canons of Salisbury interested themselves so far as to write to our bishop about it. Brown, p. 372.

canons, or whether he should pay regard to certain worldly considerations of some weight, public and general clamour, obloquy, and the like (*a*). At last, however, he hit upon a middle way, and therein had the concurrence of his friends, which was, to get the matter referred, for a final decision, to the judgement and authority of Otto the legate, or of his holiness the pope (*b*). The adverse party would not agree to either of these proposals; but consented, nevertheless, at length, that the matter in question should be submitted to the examination of Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, and the archdeacons of Worcester (*c*) and Sudbury (*d*), for them to determine the business absolutely, if the parties thought proper; or to transmit the state of the case to the pope, to whom, as the bishop observes, he could have recourse in the last instance (*e*). The bishop wrote accordingly to the pope for his assent to this proposal (*f*); and he notified it to Otto in another letter, sending him a copy of the proposals, and requesting his opinion on the step he had taken, which he feared might give offence to the pope, who had actually authorised him to make the visitation (*g*).

If the arbitrators did not proceed canonically, both parties were to be at liberty to appeal to his holiness, and in the mean time both visitors (*b*) were to cease visiting. But this, it is

(*a*) See his observations on both those steps in Brown, p. 359.

(*b*) The bishop was upon exceeding good terms with Gregory IX. and consequently with Otto his legate à latere. Of the last he always speaks very respectfully, and even affectionately, in his letters to him; but towards the end of Otto's ministry here, the bishop seems to have lost much of his favour. Brown, p. 380.

(*c*) William Scot or Stichill, a man of a respectable character, M. Paris, p. 332.

(*d*) Mr. Alan de Beccles. Annal. Dunstap, p. 239. M. Paris, p. 536. Brown, p. 361.

(*e*) Brown, p. 359, seq.

(*f*) Ibidem, p. 361.

(*g*) Ibidem, p. 362.

(*b*) The canons reckoned the dean was their proper and only visitor.

observed, was prejudicial to the canons, because the bishop never had visited, and he that had never begun could not be said to *cease*, no more than Diogenes could be said to lose his horns, when he never had any; whereas the Dean, in whose behalf the canons were struggling, by being obliged to desist, was actually deprived of the possession of his right, at least for a time, whence, the murmuring increasing, much scandal arose. Thus the arbitration came to nothing (*a*), and the litigation proceeded with passion and rancour; the canons not suffering the bishop to enter the Chapter House, nor to hold any visitation, repenting grievously that ever they had elected a bishop of so low an extraction; this they declared publicly, and even in his presence. The event was, that the contest growing hot, and heavy expences being incurred on both sides, an appeal was made to the pope; Odo de Kilkenny, an advocate, and one of the canons, being the procurator appointed by the chapter (*b*).

It is very clear that Matthew Paris in this relation altogether favours the part of the canons; and indeed he uses a very harsh expression concerning the bishop, on his entrance upon the subject. ‘*Lincolniensis quoque episcopus, religiosorum in sua diocesi, factus est malleus et immanis persecutor, nimirum in suos canonicos propriæ ecclesiæ cathedralis, qui eundem creaverunt, insurgens.*’ He accordingly reports the following miracle or prodigy, as a divine attestation in favour of the canons. As one of them was preaching to the people in the body of that most noble fabric, the church of Lincoln, and justifying the proceedings of the chapter, he made heavy complaints against the oppressions

(*a*) Annal. Dunstap. p. 239.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 485. M. Westm. p. 268. The bishop wrote a letter to the dean and chapter on this occasion, Brown, p. 350, desiring them to tell him his faults. For the Appendix, see Brown, p. 357.

of the bishop, saying, *If I should not speak, the very stones would cry out*; at which words a good part of the church fell down, viz. the stone work of the New Tower (*a*), bruising all those that were underneath, and by this fall, the whole fabric of the church was shaken, and much damaged; but the bishop, he adds, still prosecuted his cause with vigour (*b*). Matthew, you observe, is sufficiently virulent on the occasion, but

——— fragili quærens illidere dentem

Offendit solido.—

HOR.

Part of the church, it is true, did fall, and three persons were killed; this was the wall near the choir behind the dean's stall (*c*), whereupon the service was performed before the great altar, until such time as the pillars and arches on all sides were sufficiently repaired and strengthened (*d*). But the accident is very naturally accounted for by John abbat of Peterborough, who tells us it happened *propter artificii insolentiam* (*e*), by reason of the *singularity or aukwardness of the architecture*. The present middle or rood tower of the cathedral, I imagine, was built at this time. Bishop Grosseteste was particularly concerned in the erection, as we shall see hereafter (*f*), though it was not finished till bishop d'Alderby's time (*g*).

(*a*) Built probably by bishop Alexander.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 485 and 522.

(*c*) Secus chorum, post sedem decani. Annal. Dunstap. p. 239.

(*d*) Annal. Dunstap. p. 239.

(*e*) Chron. Joh. abb. Petrib. p. 107.

(*f*) See under the conclusion of the year 1253.

(*g*) Ibidem.

To return to Matthew ; he is in many places exuberant in the praises of bishop Grosseteste ; but, as to the matter in question, thinks he encroached on the liberties and immunities of the dean and chapter. In one place, where he is speaking of the bishop's sanctity and miracles, he apologizes for him, in respect of this business : ' nec moveant aliquem,' says he, ' *quidam impetus, qui in hoc volumine scribuntur de eodem, quos fecerat in vita sua, quorum unus erat, quod canonicos suos, scil. Lincolnensis ecclesiæ, multum vexavit, et vexatos damnificavit, cum desideraret visitare* confidenter tamen assero, quod Deo placuerunt ipsius virtutes, quamvis *excessus displicuerunt* ;' and then he mentions, as one mode of exculpation, the cases of David and St. Peter (a). In another place he says, the bishop was, in regard to this fact, ' Quietis nescius, multis adversans, quamplurimisque ei adversantibus, Ismaeli confimilis (b) ;' and that at last he procured the bull, A. 1245, at an immense expence. This probably may be true, considering the venality of Pope Innocent, and therefore I infer nothing from *his* sentence in favour of the bishop, as to the rights and merits of the cause ; but still, with Matthew's leave, the dean and chapter in the common order of things, and in all sound reason, ought to be subject to their diocesan, unless they could produce any bulls, or other instruments, of exemption, superseding his lordship's natural right ; which yet they never pretended to do (c). In short, Matthew was a monk of St. Alban's, a house dignified with the amplest privileges and exemptions, and consequently was too much biassed in favour of the like immunities in other bodies corporate. The

(a) M. Paris, p. 880, and M. Westm. p. 355.

(b) Idem, p. 688, and see p. 571.

(c) See Brown, p. 357.

convents were perpetually labouring to become exempt from the jurisdiction of their bishops, and the canons of Lincoln were now attempting the same (*a*), and by very unjust and dishonourable means, as we shall see below. In the mean time I shall only observe, that when archbishop Boniface visited the church of Canterbury, and the prior and monks thought it requisite to procure a bull, at a great expence, to secure themselves against him for the future, he made so light of it, that he tore the instrument in pieces (*b*).

Poisoning was as much in vogue here as in Italy. John Scot, earl of Chester, was poisoned, about Whitsuntide, by the procurement of his wife, Helen, daughter of Lewellin, prince of Wales (*c*). And by an attempt of the same kind treacherously made upon bishop Grosseteste, he was very near dying; a *sanies* issuing from pustules in various parts of his body, his hair and part of his skin coming off, and his nails and teeth being in danger of falling out (*d*).

(*a*) In this view, this contest was a matter of consequence, all the bishops being materially concerned in the event, as Grosseteste observes, Brown, p. 388, and it appears from a passage in Wilkins's Concil. I. p. 537, that the dean and canons of Lincoln were aiming at excluding the bishop as early as 1212. The exemption of the king's chapels, the monasteries, and other ecclesiastical bodies, from the episcopal jurisdiction, had a direct tendency to depress the power and authority of their order, which the popes, for the aggrandising of themselves, were ever readily disposed to do. This was one ground on which the Court of Rome encouraged all applications of this sort from the richer corporations, and another was, that when once they were emancipated from the power of their diocesan, they became subject, *immediately* subject, to the jurisdiction of the Holy See, which was sure to make advantage, one way or other, of such direct dependence; if not otherwise, yet by frequent appeals, on occasion of their internal controversies and disputes.

(*b*) M. Parker, p. 280.

(*c*) Dugd. Baron. I. p. 45; Stow. p. 184; M. Paris, p. 517. See also p. 377. Otto, the legate, was in great fear of it, p. 469. See also Rapin, p. 533; and Dugd. Bar. p. 696; M. West. p. 364; Walt Hemingf. p. 580; Stow, p. 180, 191.

(*d*) M. Paris, p. 440, 974, 975. See a like case in Walt. Hemingf. p. 580; Rapin, II. p. 189.

This

This is a very dark affair; and it is so uncertain at this time for what cause this attack was made upon the bishop's life, whether by the same hand, and at the same time with the former, which was so fatal to the earl, (I hope no canon of Lincoln, or any evil agent of that church, was concerned in so black a business) that it would be absurd to hazard any conjectures about it. Let it suffice therefore to say, that his lordship was cured by John de St. Giles, a dominican friar, who 1258 cured the earl of Gloucester, when labouring under the same calamity.

There had been a strange and shameful neglect in the kingdom of dedicating and consecrating churches; some cathedral, conventual, and large parochial fabrics, having been long built, without receiving the solemn rite of appropriation to religious use. The chief cause of the negligence, I apprehend, might be the enormous expence incurred upon such public occasions, in fees, and in splendid and magnificent entertainments, which often ran the churches and the religious foundations, into an heavy load of debt (*a*). It was however a culpable remissness, and contrary to the canons (*b*); and Otho, the legate, A. 1237 (*c*), endeavoured to remedy the evil by the first of his legatine constitutions; ordaining, that all cathedral, conventual, and parochial churches, that were already built, should be consecrated by their diocefans, or others authorized by them, within two years (*d*). This was also to be done, within the same space of time, in all churches to be erected in future (*e*).

(*a*) Matthew Paris, p. 770.

(*b*) Brown, Fascic. p. 345.

(*c*) The Council sat at St. Paul's, London, the morrow of the octave of St. Martin, or July 12; for St. Martin had 2 festivals, one July 4, the other November 11, which last has usually the addition of *in Hieme*.

(*d*) Brown, p. 340.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 449.

The Cathedral of Lincoln had been already consecrated; but there were some good conventual churches, as also some large parochial ones, in the diocese, that had not yet been dedicated. And the bishop, in pursuance of Otho's direction, set out in 1238, and consecrated the churches of Ramsey, Peterborough, and Sawtre (a). It is said in the *Chronicon Petroburg.* that our prelate was assisted there by William de la Bruere, bishop of Exeter (b); and there were certainly two bishops at Peterborough, and Walter de St. Edmundo, the then abbat there, defrayed the whole charges, though very great, himself (c). Whence I hold it not improbable, that the bishop of Exeter attended our prelate at all the places abovementioned (d).

Thomas Wallæus (e), was one of the most learned men of his time, though we know little of his writings, some of them being ascribed, as it is thought, to another person of both his names (f). As soon as Roger de Weseham had desisted from reading in the Franciscan school at Oxford, this Thomas took

(a) He consecrated the church of Ramsay, in Huntingdonshire, on Thursday Sept. 22, thence he proceeded (for we will suppose he began his progress from Buckden) to Peterborough, and having performed the like ceremony there, on Wednesday, September 28, he returned by Sawtre, and dedicated the chapel of the Cistercian abbey there, the same week, probably on Friday 30, to the honour of the blessed Virgin. M. Paris, p. 481. Tanner, Notit. p. 134. So that he had time sufficient to get home by Sunday. N. B. The days of the week I learn from M. Paris, who tells us, p. 482, that B. was the dominical letter that year. But *Chronicon Petrib.* p. 107, says, that church was consecrated 4^o non. Octobr. 1237, a mistake, I suppose, for 4^{to} Kal. and yet the year is still wrong. As to Ramsay, see Brown, p. 347. How the church of Peterborough came to be consecrated anew at this time, is not known. Gunton, Hist. of Peterborough, p. 31.

(b) Chron. Petriburg. p. 107.

(c) Rob. Swapham, p. 117.

(d) Vide Kennett, Par. Ant. p. 221.

(e) *Wallensis*, *Walensis*, and *Gualensis*; 'eo quod in Wallia fuerat oriundus.' M. Paris, p. 739. *A Waleys*. Tho. Wilkes, p. 47.

(f) Tanner, Biblioth. p. xxxix. 749.

his

his place (*a*), having formerly studied at Paris, as was usual with our English divines. There is an epistle extant (*b*) from bishop Grosseteste to this Thomas, wherein he endeavours to persuade him to withdraw himself from the labours of the Franciscan school, and to engage in the cure of souls (*c*); 'ibidem,' says Mr. Wood, 'Wallensis doctrinæ et virtutis nomine cumulatissime celebratur, pluraque occurrunt ad eundem spectantia, quæ tamen impræsentiarum referre prætermitto (*d*).'

Thomas was made prebendary of Lincoln by bishop Grosseteste (*e*); and archdeacon of that archdeaconry, 1238 (*f*). In 1243 he cited the abbat of Bardney before him, in a matter of controversy; but the bishop being at last materially concerned in this, we shall open it more fully below, without adding any more here, than that it appears, from that fact, that Thomas was not more fond of monkery than the bishops de Welles and Grosseteste were. Thomas was promoted to the see of St. David's 1247 (*g*); but, as Mr. Wood observes, this see did not then afford a revenue equal to the worth of the prelate; and he was induced to accept it, though it was then so small as to be scarcely so good as the preferment he relinquished, partly on account

(*a*) Wood, Hist. & Antiquit. p. 71; Leland in Tanner, p. 750.

(*b*) In Biblioth. Bodl.

(*c*) Wood, ibidem.

(*d*) This excellent letter occurs in Brown, p. 340.

(*e*) Tanner, Biblioth. Wood, Hist. & Antiq. p. 71. But as his name occurs not in Dr. Br. Willis's Lists, his stall is not now known.

(*f*) Tanner; Willis; Wood; Hist. & Antiq. p. 71; and Lib. II. p. 390; Brown, p. 370. Quære, if he be not that Thomas, *Archidiaconus Rob. Grossthead*, whom Tanner, in Biblioth. p. 709, has registered from *Pits?* for I find no other archdeacon in these times of the name of Thomas but Wallæus.

(*g*) Consecrated 26 July, 1248. See Tanner; Willis; M. Paris, p. 739; Tho. Wikes, p. 47; and Le Neve, p. 512; amongst whom there is some variation as to time.

of the bishop's having gained his cause against the dean and chapter of Lincoln, as M. Paris tells us (*a*); and partly because it was in his own country, from a tenderness and compassion towards his fellow Britons, then in great misery and distress (*b*). A most laudable and truly noble motive! This doctor, who died 1255 (*c*), was one of those few divines that pleased Roger Bacon (*d*), a person of nice and most delicate taste.

John de Basing, or de Basingstoke, so called from the place of his nativity in Hampshire, was a very extraordinary person. He not only studied at Oxford and Paris, according to the custom of the age, but also went to *Athens*; a step very uncommon for the scholars of our nation at this time to take (*e*), they seldom proceeding further Eastward, for the prosecution of their studies and their improvement in learning, than Rome, or perhaps Venice. At Athens he heard the famous lady *Constantina*, of whom Matthew Paris speaks such great things (*f*). And Leland collects, from this very particular, that the city of *Athens* must necessarily have been at that time more flourishing in science. 'An non credibile est,' says he, 'maturæ ætatis præceptores illic magna potuisse præstare, ubi *Basingus Constantinam*, nobilem fœminam, vix annos viginti natam, de peritioribus operosæ naturæ causis disputantem magna cum autoritate audivit (*g*);'

(*a*) But in regard to this motive, see hereafter, under the year 1245.

(*b*) 'Tum ut miseros compatriotas suos sua præsentia, consilio, et auxilio confortaretur.' M. Paris, p. 739.

(*c*) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. p. 512.

(*d*) Wood, Ib. p. 123; Wharton Ang. Sac. II. p. 345.

(*e*) Leland in Tanner.

(*f*) M. Paris, p. 835, who also says she was daughter of the archbishop of Athens, was a prodigy of learning, and before the age of twenty, 'through her great skill in natural philosophy, could foretell plagues, earthquakes, thunder, and the like.' Biog. Brit. I. p. 670.

(*g*) Leland in Tanneri Biblioth.

an inference by no means absurd, since, as M. Paris testifies, 'Hic Magister *Jobannes* intimaverit Episcopo Lincolnensi Roberto [Grosseteste] quòd, quando studuit *Athenis*, viderat et audierat ab peritis *Græcorum* doctoribus, *quædam Latinis incognita* (a).' And so, speaking of *John* and *Constantina*, he says, 'Et quicquid boni scivit in scientia, ut sæpe asseruit, licet *Parisiis* diu studuisset et legisset (b), ab *ea* mendicaverat.' However, from *Athens* our inquisitive and studious traveller imported into his own country many valuable *Greek* manuscripts (c), which until this time were undoubtedly very scarce in England (d).

It is remarked by M. Paris, that de Basing first brought the *Greek* numerals to England, and taught them to his acquaintance (e). Certainly we must have been very low here in *Greek* learning, when our best and deepest scholars were ignorant even of the method of reckoning, as practised by that nation (f). This, however, is a remarkable epocha in the history of the English literature, being a most laudable, though no very successful attempt towards reviving of *Greek* learning amongst us, after it had lain so long in a torpid and dead state, as since the age of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury. But this is a topic only touched upon in this place.

Bishop Grosseteste translated the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs out of *Greek* into *Latin*, being told of the book by John de Basing, upon whose information the bishop sent to Greece for it, and obtained it. M. Paris intimates, that this work

(a) M. Paris, p. 835.

(b) Read Lectures as a Professor.

(c) Leland, l. c.

(d) See Appendix, N° X.

(e) M. Paris, l. c.

(f) But as to this matter, see our Appendix, N° XI.

had been suppressed or secreted by the Jews, on account of the open and manifest prophecies contained in it relating to our Saviour (*a*). He fancied, that the *Testaments* had formerly been parcel of the original *Hebrew* scriptures (*b*), and were concealed whilst they continued in an untranslated state; for it must have been out of the power of the Jews, after a *Greek* version was once made, to have kept them private to themselves. But this was never the case, for, according to the opinion of a very competent judge (*c*), they were not so much as written in that language, though Dr. Grabe thinks they were (*d*).

M. Paris pretends, the *Testaments* were unknown to the Christians in the time of St. Jerom, ‘Nec tempore beati Hieronymi, vel alicujus sancti interpretis, ad notitiam Christianorum machinante *Judæorum* antiquorum malitia) potuit quomodolibet devenire (*e*).’ But this is a mistake, for this gross piece

(*a*) *M. Paris*, p. 835. See also p. 597. The words are, ‘Testamenta quæ constat esse de substantia *Bibliothecæ*, [i. e. *Bibliæ*], sed per invidiam *Judæorum* dudum fuisse abscondita, propter manifestas, quæ in iisdem patent, de Christo prophetias.’ That *Bibliotheca* here means *Biblia* is plain from Gunton, Hist. of Peterborough, p. 190, 212; the Saxon Treatise on the Old Testament, published by Mr. Lisle, p. 12, 15, 21; Gul. Pictav. p. 196; see J. A. Fabric. in Cod. Apocr. N. T. I. p. 295.

(*b*) The Art of Criticism, whose chief office and employment it was to distinguish the genuine works of the ancients from the spurious, the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, (*Clerici Ars Crit. in Præfatione*) was little understood at this time, so that it is no wonder that *M. Paris*, and even the learned prelate bishop Grosseteste, should not be able to discern the difference between the coarse texture of the *Testaments*, and the authentic word of God; but confounded the former with the latter, as of equal and undoubted authority, and that without the least suspicion of fraud or imposition in the case. As for the bishop, I beg leave to refer the reader to the Appendix, N^o XII.

(*c*) Fabricius, Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. II. p. 759.

(*d*) Grabii Spicilegium I. p. 140, 143.

(*e*) *M. Paris*, p. 597.

of forgery is older than *Origen*, and was probably composed in the second century, or the close of the first (*a*).

Some have thought the *Greek* text of this book was a translation made by John Chrysostom from an *Hebrew* original; but the grounds of this opinion are not sufficient to support it (*b*).

But to return to John de Basing. He was personally known to Matthew Paris (*c*), who gives him the most accomplished character: ‘Vir quidem in trivio et quadrivio experientissimus, Græcis ac Latinis literis ad plenum eruditus (*d*).’ By *Trivium*, in the language of these times, were meant grammar, logic, and rhetoric; as, by *Quadrivium*, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, were usually denoted; these together were styled the seven liberal sciences (*e*). He is said to have been ‘a perfect master of the Latin and Greek languages; and also an eloquent orator, a complete mathematician, a subtil philosopher, and a sound divine (*f*).’

On his arrival in England from his travels, he was received by the learned with great marks of distinction, and was particularly carested by Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester (*g*). Bale and Pits say, he was archdeacon of London first, then of Leicester. The former is not certain, but he was possessed of the latter

(*a*) Grabe, p. 131. See Fabricius, l. c. Cave thinks at the end of the 2d; Dodwell places it in the first; and others believe it was composed by some Jew before our Saviour's death. Rapin, p. 356. But this is not at all probable.

(*b*) Tanner, Biblioth. p. 348; and see what is said above of its not being originally composed in *Hebrew*.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 835.

(*d*) Ibidem.

(*e*) Joh. Abbas Petrib. p. 107. Junii Etymol. v. *Trivial*.

(*f*) Biog. Brit. l. p. 669.

(*g*) M. Paris, p. 835.

dignity 1238 (a), whereupon Leland says, 'Ego hoc factum crediderim liberalitate Roberti Grosi (b), Episcopi *Lindensis*, qui Basingum arcta familiaritate sibi conjunxerat, utpote hominem Græcæ linguæ peritum.' No doubt he obtained the preferment from bishop Grosseteste, who very probably made use of his assistance in perfecting himself in the *Greek* tongue, as likewise in translating the *Testaments*; but, in this latter undertaking, he moreover had the help of *Nicholas the Greek* (c).

Anno 1241, John de Basing, being then archdeacon of Leicester, was employed by bishop Grosseteste, along with William, archdeacon of Huntingdon, to carry a message from his lordship to the king, then in Wales, about the collation of Simon de London (d), to the great prebend of Tame in the church of Lincoln; and to expostulate the matter with his highness, disposed to favour John Mansel, his chaplain, who, under the royal protection, and the colour of the papal provision, had taken violent possession of that rectory. Things ran very high between the king and the bishop in this dispute (e); but these nuntios acquitted themselves so prudently in the business, alleging such strong reasons against the papal provision, and proposing to his highness such a

(a) Le Neve, who cites *Coll. Kennet fol.* See also Leland and Willis.

(b) *L. Grosi Capitis.*

(c) *M. Paris*, p. 597 See what has been said of this person above, and will be said below.

(d) Simon was pœnitentiary to Richard Poore, bishop of Durham, who had been translated thither from Sarum; and Simon's acquaintance with Grosseteste probably began when Poore sat at Sarum, and Grosseteste was archdeacon of Wilts.

(e) The quarrel began before 1240, for de London was one of those whom the king protested against that year, as particularly disagreeable to him, but standing fair to be chosen, when the monks of Durham were to proceed to a new election of a bishop, on the resignation of Thomas de Melsonby their Prior. Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* I. p. 736.

plausible

plausible expedient, that Mansel (*a*) declared he was no way desirous of embroiling these two great persons; and the king consented that the affair should be respited. The event was, on his highness's return to London, and the bishop's arrival there, who came prepared to excommunicate all that should encroach upon the dignity of his church, Mansel repeated his willingness to resign his pretensions, and so the bishop carried his point (*b*), and, as it appears, with very high hand. Indeed it redounds much to his honour, as he had not only the king's will to contend with, but made a noble stand on the occasion against that growing evil the Papal provisions.

As Basing incited the youth to the reading of Greek authors, so to encourage and assist them in undertaking the arduous task, he translated and published the Greek Grammar. But here the MS. of Leland, in Trinity College Library at Cambridge, says, he wrote a book *de Grammatica Græca*, which was dedicated to bishop Grosseteste (*c*). But whether it was a composition, or only a translation (*d*), the title it seems was *Donatus Græcorum*, being intended to serve the same purpose in respect of the Greek tongue, as the rudiments of Donatus did for the Latin (*e*).

(*a*) He was not so high in the king's good graces as afterwards, when Richard of Cornwall and he governed every thing. M. Paris, in Vit. p. 143.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 571. Dr. Willis gives a very wrong account of this affair. 'Simon de London,' he says, 'had this prebend given him about 1241, by the bishop; but the Pope gave it to John Mansel, and he held it 1241. Vide Pryn's voluminous collections, tom. II. p. 595.' According to him, Simon and the bishop were defeated, and John Mansel obtained the prebend; whereas the case was just the contrary.

(*c*) Tanner.

(*d*) M. Paris calls it a translation, p. 835.

(*e*) Donatus was an old Latin grammarian; but, concerning this title, see Edw. Lhuyd *Archæologia*, p. 250; Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetr.* p. 281; Knight, *Life of Colet*, p. 481.

It

It undoubtedly was a noble atchievement at that time of day ; and upon this account Dr. Fuller esteems him the restorer of the language in England (*a*).

Dr. Weseham, bishop of Lichfield, gave John de Basing a taste of his favour after this, constituting him, on the promotion of Silvester de Everdon, A. 1247, to the see of Carlisle, archdeacon of Chester (*b*) ; the honour of which preferment has been specified above (*c*). De Basing held this archdeaconry along with that of Leicester (*d*), though this was not agreeable to canon (*e*).

He published another piece, 'quod ab Atheniensibus habuit,' says M. Paris (*f*), by which it should seem to be a translation (*g*). The subject was *de Concordia Evangeliorum*, I presume a kind of *Harmony* (*b*), which began, *Omnia tempus habent et suis*. The rest of his literary performances may be seen in bishop Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, wherefore I shall only add, that M. Paris very solemnly laments his death, esteeming it a public loss (*i*). It happened 1252 (*k*).

(*a*) Fuller, Worth. in Hants, p. 10.

(*b*) I do not apprehend it was the custom at this time for the crown to dispose of a benefice on the promotion of the former incumbent to a bishoprick.

(*c*) V. supra, p. 17.

(*d*) Willis, I. p. 412. II. p. 112. He held that of Leicester till his death, 1252. M. Paris, p. 835. Yet this plurality was expressly contrary to the canon of 1127. He probably had a dispensation.

(*e*) Canon, A. 1127.

(*f*) M. Paris, loc. citato.

(*g*) Concordiam tamen Evangeliorum haud transtulisse dicitur. Tanner.

(*h*) M. Paris, l. c.

(*i*) John's death was particularly regretted by Simon Montfort earl of Leicester. M. Paris, p. 835.

(*k*) Memoirs of Roger de Weseham, p. 46. seq.

It is not my design to dilate in this manner on all bishop Groseste's learned familiars, which would interrupt our narrative too much. These, whom we have hitherto noticed, Roger de Weseham, Thomas Wallensis, and John de Basing, may serve for a specimen of his lordship's care, judgement, and penetration, in the disposal of his patronage. And therefore in the sequel, though the rest of his friends may not have been inferior either in worth or erudition to the three here mentioned, and some of them equally sharers of his confidence, as Robert de Marisco, Almaric de Bugden, John de St. Ægidio, and Adam de Marisco, &c. yet we shall either dispatch them briefly in the places where they occur (unless perhaps an extraordinary paragraph may be bestowed on Nicholas the Greek), or they shall be reserved to some separate article at the conclusion of the bishop's life and transactions.

William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, being dead in Ireland (*a*), the king gave his sister Eleanor, the earl's widow (*b*), in marriage to Simon Montfort, afterwards earl of Leicester: this lady, either through a real intention of entering into religion, or some other specious design, conceived a vow of chastity upon her husband's demise, though she had not taken the veil (*c*). Upon this ground, Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, resolving to oblige her to the performance of her vow, opposed the lady's re-marriage with *Montfort* all he could, and even sharply reproved the king for encouraging Montfort, by consenting to the match, to break the established rules of the church; but,

(*a*) 1231. Dugd. Baron. and Sandford. Supposed to be poisoned by Hubert de Burgo. Dugd. Bar. I. p. 696.

(*b*) Hemingford, p. 560, says it was another sister, and not this lady; but this is a mistake, for see Dugd. Baron.; Camden, col. p. 608; Sanford, p. 87; Burton's Descript. of Leicest. p. 171.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 471; Hemingford, p. 560.

alas ! there was a necessity for it, as Eleanor was with child by Montfort (*a*). This opposition given by the archbishop to the king, who was absolutely determined to permit the marriage, entirely alienated his majesty's affections from him ; and, being highly enraged, he privately treated with pope Gregory IX. to send him a stout and able legate into England (*b*) ; one that might controul the archbishop, and all others that should dare to withstand and oppose his will. Thus this light matter (*c*) proved in the event a most serious affair, laying not only the foundation of all the mischiefs brought upon the kingdom by the intromission of Otho the legate, but even occasioning at last the exile of the archbishop (*d*). To cut the matter short, the archbishop's censure proceeded from an upright intention, according to the notion of the times ; and bishop Grosseteste, as may be expected, entirely concurred in sentiments with him ; and told Montfort, after the solemnization of the marriage, ' he should never be happy in the offspring he should ' have by that lady, as he had made void her espousal to God, for ' the sake of espousing her himself ;' and so, say my authors, it happened (*e*). The King, certainly, ought not so easily to have forgotten all the good offices the archbishop had done him (*f*) ;

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 497 ; Rapin, p. 312, 313.

(*b*) This, according to Stow, p. 184, was the main cause of quarrel between the king and the archbishop.

(*c*) M. Parker, p. 252. But M. Paris tells us, p. 440, it was not known for what purpose Otto was sent for. Others say it was on account of Richard Marshal being in arms against the king. See Rapin, p. 311. The archbishop, however, was much against the legate's coming, as M. Paris witnesses.

(*d*) He left England A. 1240. M. Paris, p. 532. He died soon after, and was canonized.

(*e*) Knighton inter X. Scriptores, col. 2426 ; Hemingford, p. 560.

(*f*) M. Parker, p. 251 ; M. Paris, p. 404, 405. King Henry used the archbishops of Canterbury ill ; though, if you except Boniface who was promoted by himself, they were very respectable persons.

ought not to have involved him, for so trivial a cause, in so much disquietude and disgrace; nor the kingdom in so much misery, as followed from the introduction of the legate (*a*). How easy was it for him to apply to the pope, most favourably disposed to him at this juncture of time, for a dispensation in regard to the lady's vow! *That*, the king had in his power to command, and in effect so it ended at last (*b*). The pope, on his part, was glad of the opportunity of sending a legate to England, to oppress both clergy and people with his extortions in the manner Otho or Otto did. And as for our prelate, the prediction did not turn out for his credit; since, as Sir William Dugdale informs us, the princess had many children by earl Simon, which grew up to man's estate, and flourished abroad, though not here (*c*). But it may be justly doubted whether the bishop uttered any such prediction as these late authors pretend. The monkish historians make very free with God's judgements on all occasions; and, as they thought fit to put this observation in the mouth of somebody, who so proper as his lordship, he being most familiar with the Montfort family? M. Paris, and the older authors, knew nothing of it.

Earl Simon was disposed to punish one of his burgessees of Leicester more severely than his crime deserved; upon which the bishop wrote to him, begging he would qualify his anger, and not exert his vengeance to extremity (*d*). And when he fell into disgrace with the king, he informed the bishop of his misfortune, who wrote him a word of comfort, promised to remember him, to intercede with the king for him, and to be

(*a*) The legates, it is observed, never did us any good.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 468.

(*c*) Dugd. Baron. I. p. 759. Burton, Descript. of Leicester, p. 177.

(*d*) Brown, p. 338.

assisting to his domesticks, especially unto two recommended to him by name (a). Earl Simon will appear again below.

Otto, the legate, on the death of R. de Wermenister, canon of Lincoln, collated Mr. Acton, one of his clerks, to his prebend, and notified it to the bishop, who had disposed of it before the arrival of Otto's letter. The bishop, in reply, professes the strongest attachment to the Holy See, acknowledging it to be invested with the *power of disposing of all Ecclesiastical Benefices*; but it grieved him to think he had not been consulted in this affair, as he should have been willing to oblige him in a greater matter, and even though a nephew of the pope's had been promoted to one of the best prebends in his church. He begged, therefore, as things were so circumstanced, that the legate would revoke his instrument of collation, and not expose him to general contempt (b). And this I believe was done, as I find not the name of *Acton* amongst the prebendaries of Lincoln.

Otto, after this, applied to his lordship again, requesting him to admit Thomas son of earl Ferrers (c) to the church of Randes, in the county of Lincoln, though he was under age, and not in orders (d). The bishop told him, in answer, that his conscience would not permit him to do this; and then he opened to Otto at large the impropriety of such an act. He desired him, therefore, to use his interest with the earl to present a fitter person; otherwise, that he, the legate, *who could lawfully do things which he could not*, would take the part upon

(a) Brown, p. 355.

(b) Ibidem, p. 339.

(c) Probably the person mentioned in Dugd. Baron. I. p. 258.

(d) Brown, p. 383.

himself

himself (*a*); hoping he would do nothing that should be displeasing to God, or prejudicial to the souls of men. He recommended it to him, however, in case he should think proper to institute Thomas, to erect a good vicarage there with an able vicar; or, what he would rather chuse, if it could legally be done, that a sufficient pastor should be appointed, and Thomas should there reside, receiving an annual pension, under the name of a simple benefice (*b*). *Rand* still continues to be a rectory; and therefore I should suppose, that the latter mode was adopted, or that the earl consented to nominate another clerk.

This granting of pensions out of rectories was but too frequent in these days; and even our bishop, strict as he was, would sometimes permit it, as he did in favour of Roger, son of Roger, earl of Winchester, who enjoyed a pension of ten marks annually from Charlton super Atmere, from 1242 (*c*). The pretence for thus quartering young gentlemen upon rectories (for none, I presume, but persons of quality had interest enough with the prelate to obtain such grace) was, to enable them to pursue their studies till such time as they should be provided with some good

(*a*) A like case occurs in the bishop's letter to R. cardinal of St. Eustachius, Brown, p. 349; and in another to Otto, p. 354; but one would not expect such a mean subterfuge from a conscience so delicate and tender as bishop Grosseteste's was. The case was very different, p. 367: when a person, not personally known to him, was to be admitted to the rectory of *Castre*, he referred the case to Boniface, elect of Canterbury, who was acquainted with him (and perhaps might be the party that recommended him) for him to judge of it, and to institute *pro hac vice*.

(*b*) Brown, p. 342.

(*c*) Jordanus Clericus Prioris de War Subdiac. ad Eccl. de Cherleton [admissus erat] ad presentationem N. Prioris de Ware, salvis Rogero fil. Dñi Rogeri com. Winton. clerico x marc. annuis, quamdiu in habitu clericali honeste se gesserit, et uxorem non duxerit, nec habitum religiosum susceperit, nec aliud beneficium ecclesiasticum adeptus fuerit. Rot. Rob. Grossthead, A.D. 1242.

benefice of their own, but certainly it was a measure very scandalous and injurious to the church.

The bishop looked round him every way, and about this time sent away two monks from *Minting*, a cell of *Fleury*, or *St. Benedict on the Loyre*, to the monastery, to be punished, one for adultery, the other vehemently suspected of fornication; whilst both of them, like secular men, followed the pastimes of hunting and shooting. His lordship wrote to the abbat and convent on the occasion, exhorting them never to send their vicious or weak monks to their cells abroad, to the discredit of their house; but such as were eminent for their wisdom, and the honesty of their conversation (*a*); and declaring, that he would never suffer any monks to continue in his diocese, but such as were grave and sober, and followed strictly their rule (*b*). It was the bishop's office to admit abbats and priors; and when this priory of *Minting* was vacant, he wrote to the abbat abroad to send him a person well qualified for the post (*c*). He also soon after sent four monks from *Minting* to their house abroad, for their vices and licentiousness (*d*).

The legate was continually teasing the bishop; for, very soon after this, he sent to ask a vacant prebend for Mr. Atto, a clerk of his (*e*); when the bishop, in reply to his request (*f*), said, he had
three

(*a*) It appears, from another letter of the bishop's to the abbat and convent, p. 382, that they were very negligent and culpable in this.

(*b*) Brown, p. 343.

(*c*) Ibidem, p. 344.

(*d*) Ibidem, p. 385.

(*e*) This request from a legate sounds strangely in our ears; but it was not more unreasonable than that of Innocent IV. 1253, to be mentioned below. Laymen and Minors were returned as incumbents even after the Reformation. Willis, *St. Asaph*, p. 255, 257; *Landaff*, p. 298.

(*f*) See *M. Paris*, p. 448; and the bishop himself speaks of him very highly in this epistle. This man was a different person from John de Athon, the Glossator, (though

three things upon his mind: one, that spiritual benefices ought not to be disposed of out of favour to man; another, that Atto had not a dispensation to hold a plurality of benefices which had care of souls: the third was, the case of two fruit-trees, which much struck his imagination; one in a good warm soil would bring much fruit, but in a cold one little or none; the other, whose fruit was of a worse kind, produced a large quantity of fruit according to its kind, though growing in a cold clime; wherefore a wise gardener would certainly chuse to take the latter into his garden. The bishop, however, left the matter at last to the legate, who, I make no doubt, preferred Mr. Atto to the prebend.

As to this case, and that of the son of earl Ferrers above, the maxim is, *qui facit per alium facit per se*; and it is certain, that at another period the bishop, recollecting himself, came to a better mind, and grew more resolute and determined on this head (*a*). His conduct here is much of a piece with that of archbishop Sancroft, condemned by bishop Burnet (*b*). The archbishop refused to consecrate Burnet when nominated to the see of Salisbury, from the tenderness of his conscience; but at the same time granted a commission for any three of his suffragans, in conjunction with the bishop of London, to exercise his metropolitanical authority. Grosseteste's behaviour must be resolved into that blind and indiscriminate submission which at this period of his life he conceived was due to the commands, how erroneous soever such commands might be, of the papal omnipotence.

(though M. Parker, p. 255 confounds them) ^P of Welton Rival in the church of Lincoln; but lived in the following century. See Mr. Johnson, Vade Mecum, vol. II. p. 165. Q. whether Atto was not an Italian? However, he had a living here before the prebend was asked for him. It seems probable that he was the same person with *Atton* before mentioned, p. 76.

(*a*) See on the year 1253.

(*b*) Bishop Burnet, Hist. of Own Time, III. p. 11.

The

The university of Oxford was comprehended within the limits of the immense diocese of Lincoln, and the prelates of that see had naturally great power and authority there (*a*). If they did not nominate the chancellor, they enjoyed the privilege of *approving* the election; but, as I take it, they absolutely appointed him (*b*). In the year 1238, bishop Groffeteste made a noble stand in favour of that body, to which he was always a true friend and patron, and did it a very singular service. Otho the legate, who had been invited into England by the king, as related above, and was now much carested by him and held in especial esteem, went to Oxford, April 23, 1238, in order to examine into and to correct abuses there, where the number of students was very numerous (*c*). The legate, who was much hated by the whole nation, was lodged in the monastery of Osney not far off, where the university accommodated him immediately with all necessaries, and afterwards waited upon him with their compliments on St. George's day (*d*). The crowd was great at the door of the Stranger's Hall (*e*), as may be presumed, when a person of his rank and character was to be entertained; and the porter, being a foreigner, was ruder to the scholars than was consistent with good manners, (especially after such

(*a*) Annal. Burton. p. 405; Wood, 360. The university was afterwards exempted from the jurisdiction. Wood, p. 88. It is probable that both our universities were formerly in this diocese.

(*b*) Thus 52 shillings were to be distributed, A. 1214, amongst poor scholars 'de consilio venerabilis fratris Hugonis tunc episcopi Lincolnienfis & successorum suorum, vel archidiaconi loci sive ejus officialis, aut cancellarii, quem episcopus Lincoln. scholaribus ibidem præficiet,' &c. Verba Nicholai, Legati, in Wood, Hist. p. 60, et vide, p. 61.

(*c*) See above, p. 9.

(*d*) T. Wilkes, p. 43.

(*e*) In all large monasteries there was a refectory, or hall, for the entertainment of strangers.

ample

ample presents had been made to his master) and refused them admittance in a high and haughty tone. The students, thus offended, began to employ force, and to beat the cardinal's servants; whilst these, on their part, endeavoured to resist and oppose them. A poor Irish half-starved chaplain was, at the instant, asking for something to eat at the kitchen door; but the master of the cooks, who was the cardinal's brother (*a*), displeased with his importunity, took some scalding water and threw it in his face. A Welch student happened to see it, and enraged at such usage, exclaimed aloud, *shall we bear this?* and, then bending his bow (*b*), shot the master of the cooks, and killed him on the spot (*c*). The whole monastery was instantly in an uproar; and the legate, hearing of his brother's death, thought it high time to take care of himself, wherefore, catching up his canonical cope, he ran to the tower of the abbey-church, and shut the door after him. The students flocked round this fastness, crying, 'Come out, thou slave, thou fleecer of the land, and gulf of Roman avarice!' At night, Otho put off his vestments, and, mounting his horse, was conducted through bye-ways, and over a ford not very safe, to the king, who was

(*a*) One of the elder monks in great monasteries had the charge of the kitchen; partly for the sake of preserving order, and partly to prevent any foul play by poison, as we are told. See Tanner Pref. to Notit, p. xxx. where he seems to be at a loss for the office or employment of the *coquinarius*; but this of preventing poison was one branch of it.

(*b*) It is observed that the students carried arms at this time. See also Wood, p. 90; but query? for the words of M. Paris, p. 469, do not imply that; and T. Wilkes, says, p. 43, they armed themselves after the fray began.

(*c*) This appears to be an accidental fray; but Robert Fabian, in A. 1237, represents it as a deliberate act of the younger clergy, in revenge for Otto's severe ordinances against them in respect of marriage and concubinage. But Fabian's passage concerning this business abounds so much with errors and mistakes, that one knows not how to rely upon it. M. Parker's narrative is not more correct, p. 260.

M

then

then at Abingdon (*a*), to seek his protection; for the scholars, being very outrageous, kept searching for him, crying out, 'where is that usurer, that simoniac, that plunderer of rents, that gaper for money, who abuses the king's goodness, subverts the kingdom, and enriches foreigners with our spoils!' At Abingdon, the legate related to his majesty, with sighs and tears, the whole of his ill-usage; and the king, compassionating his case, immediately dispatched his messengers with letters to the mayor and burgeses of Oxford, charging him to enquire into this outrage, and to inform his delegates thereof. On this, an inquisition was begun, and by the assistance of 12 jurats, appointed for this purpose, for the keeping of the peace, together with an armed force sent by the king, under the command of earl Warren, thirty scholars (*b*), without respect of persons, were committed to prison; besides Odo de Kilkenny, prebendary of Lincoln, and a canonist (*c*), who appeared to have been one of the ringleaders in this riot. Some others fled to Wallingford, but were seized and put in prison there and elsewhere.

In a few days, Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester (*d*), and Ralph Nevil, bishop of Chichester and lord chancellor, came to Oxford, and with the abbats of Evesham and Abingdon assembled in St. Frideswide's church, suspended the university by an interdict, both as to lectures, &c. and all acts of religion. Otho, at the same time, convening the neighbouring prelates, thundered out a like interdict by his legatine authority, excom-

(*a*) *Wallingford*; M. Parker, p. 261.

(*b*) Others say only 18.

(*c*) As he is not mentioned in Willis, the particular stall is not known. See more of him above.

(*d*) Peter was the king's governor and regent of the kingdom after the death of the earl of Pembroke, A. 1219; and though the king had now been long of age, he was still a leading man.

municating all in general that were concerned in the late tumult. And in this censure not only the undergraduates, but the masters, the beneficed clerks, and even the doctors and the chancellor, were involved. When this sentence was notified at Oxford, many academics, that were but in the least conscious of guilt, withdrew from the university, under a pretence of liberty, as not knowing where these matters would end. But as soon as this was told the king, he by his proclamation forbade any one to depart the place without his leave, which several, having urgent business, afterwards obtained.

Many of the masters and beneficed clergy were bailed soon after this; and Roger Niger, the worthy bishop of London, and bishop Grosseteste, gave bail for such clerks and laymen as were imprisoned in the Tower; and by that means master Odo de Kilkenny, master Simon de Crauford, John de Lewes, William de Staresburg, Gregory de Fertekyroth, Thomas de Lychefield, Robert de Leycester, John de Brideport, William de Blundun, Richard Grostest, Peter de Oxon, and Adam de Oxon or Exon, were all set at liberty. And, to omit further particulars, many others were delivered out of prison by bishop Grosseteste's giving security for their appearance. But, whereas many students had fled, and would not return, the king sent his letters to the chancellor and archdeacon of Oxford, to declare they might safely come back to the university, and there wait for their absolution in form.

The legate had thoughts of making a progress into the northern parts of the realm, but came first to London, and took up his lodging in Durham House (a); the king directing that the lord

(a) In the Strand.

mayor and the citizens should furnish him with a guard. Thither he convened, by his legatine authority, the archbishop of York (*a*), and all the English bishops, to consult about the affairs of the church, and the injury and insult he had received at Osney. The bishops defended the university in the best manner they could; and it is particularly recorded, to the honour of bishop Groffeste, that he strenuously exerted himself on the occasion, and with a noble spirit, becoming the greatness of his soul, interdicted, in the presence of the king and legate, every person that had offered to lay violent hands on the Oxonians. The bishops insisted, that, next to the university of Paris, this of Oxford was deservedly esteemed the most eminent for piety and sound learning; and that, if, after imprisoning the persons of the students, and despoiling them of their effects, any thing more rigid should be inflicted, they should have reason to fear the scholars would be driven from Oxford never more to return; that, if the legate would but be so cool and candid as to attend to truth, he might recollect, that the fault committed was rather to be imputed to his own servants, who had so far provoked the academicians by their contumelies, that it was little to be wondered such disturbances, great as they were, had happened to his reverence. The legate, upon this, took time to consider, and so dismissed the assembly.

At length, in the following year, after some letters had passed betwixt him and the pope, and some of the cardinals at Rome, he terminated the matter on this manner. He wrote to the chancellor, exhorting the Oxonians (who now for a year and more, being prohibited their lectures and exercises at Oxford,

(*a*) The primacy of Canterbury was not now vacant; but Edmund, I think, was gone abroad.

had retired many of them to Northampton and Salisbury, for the prosecution of their studies) to repentance, and giving them full leave to return to Oxford, provided they would submit to the following penance, that the clerks should go on foot from St. Paul's to Durham House, about a mile distant, the bishops accompanying them as far as Carlisle House, now called Worcester House (*a*); that thence the academics (*b*) should proceed barefooted, without their hoods and gowns (*c*), and humbly ask pardon of the legate for their fault (*d*). Thus ended this unfortunate affair, which nevertheless proved very hurtful to this famous university, as we do not find, after this dispersion, it was ever frequented by the like full complement of students.

William de Tournay, dean of Lincoln, persisting in his opposition to the bishop, whose intention it was to visit his cathedral, as noted above, was deprived by him, 1239. And thereupon Roger de Weseham, archdeacon of Oxford, and an intimate friend of the bishop's, was substituted *by his Lordship* in his place. The right of electing the dean was undoubtedly vested in the canons, so that one may justly wonder how the bishop, who was then upon such ill terms with the canons, should be able to promote his friend *de Weseham* to that dignity at this time; and yet we are told by Leland, that he acquired it by the grace and favour of the bishop (*e*). I account for it in this manner: the canons, as the dean was deprived upon their account, would not acquiesce in the sentence, but of course

(*a*) And since Somerset House, in the Strand. Fuller, Ch. Hist. in H. III. p. 63.

(*b*) And, I presume, the Abbat of Osney. M. Parker.

(*c*) Sine cappis et mantellis, discincti et discalceati.

(*d*) We do not hear in what manner the Welshman, who killed the legate's brother, suffered: perhaps he escaped, and was never taken.

(*e*) *Capitonis* beneficio [Veshamius] fit Decanus Lindianæ ecclesiæ. Leland.

refused,

refused, though probably commanded to do it by the bishop, to proceed to the election of a new dean; and persevering in this temper, there ensued a devolution to the bishop, who thereupon collated his friend *de Weseham*, and got him installed. De Weseham was of an easy, quiet, and tractable disposition; and his former obligations to the bishop, added to these good qualities, were reasons sufficient why the bishop should think of collating him to the decanal stall. And it is certain, that as this doctor was a person of approved worth and learning, his lordship could not fix upon a party that would be less obnoxious to the chapter.

The great convent of St. Alban, amongst their cells, which were numerous, had one at Hertford; and the bishop of Lincoln coming on a time (*a*) to this place, would not ask it as a favour, thought his Priory was exempt from his lordship's jurisdiction, but *demand*ed reception in the priory; and, the monks refusing, he suspended all the churches in the town the next day. He was reproved, however, for this, which was thought a very rash act by Otto the legate, and was obliged to revoke the sentence (*b*). To speak freely, it was very arbitrary, upon a non-compliance with an unreasonable and unjust demand; for such it was, considering the privilege of the priory, to inflict so severe a punishment on the innocent inhabitants of the place.

(*a*) It was whilst Otho was in England, who went away in Christmas week, 1240, and embarked January 7. M. Paris, p. 549. He must then be very old, as he was Cardinal in 1166. Lord Lyttelton, *Life of Henry II.* iv. p. 142. He carried immense treasure away with him; but falling into the Emperor's hands was afterwards plundered of it. M. Paris, p. 549, 562.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 879.

The king was now beginning to interfere in capitular elections, contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the charter of king John, 1214 (a). And the bishop, whose providential care extended to the whole church in general in matters which, in his esteem, concerned its rights ecclesiastic, wrote to archbishop Edmund to put a stop by all means to this growing evil, charging his conscience with it. Ralph de Maidstone, bishop of Hereford, became a Franciscan friar at Oxford at the end of 1239; and the day of electing a new bishop by the chapter of Hereford was approaching, when Grosfeste wrote the above letter to the archbishop, in which he tells him, it would be proper for him, in his opinion, to write a vigorous letter to the chapter, to induce them to chuse an able prelate, without regarding either the menaces or the promises of man; and also to send some able clerks thither at the time, to remind the chapter of the charter of king John: ‘Hoc enim erit terror malignantibus, confortatio eligentibus, multumque proficiet in ecclesiasticam libertatem, et animarum salutem, et vestrum honorem.’ The bishop desired also, that, when the election was over, the strictest enquiry possible might be made, both as to the manner of conducting it, and the qualifications of the persons elected (b).

The bishop no doubt had some intimation, that the king intended to interpose in favour of Peter de Egueblanc, a clerk and particular confident of his uncle William de Valentia. Whether the archbishop chose to concern himself in this business, by following bishop Grosfeste's advice, is not known; this, however, is certain, that Peter was at this time elected.

(a) Johnson, Collect. of Canon, 1222, in Pref. Wilkins, I. p. 545; M. Paris, p. 920.

(b) Brown, p. 363.

Roger de Lexinton, itinerant justice, and his associates, held pleas of blood on a Sunday at Lincoln; and H. the rural dean (*a*) told them it was a thing that ought not to be done; upon which they gave him opprobrious language, shut up the door of his house, and seized on his effects, with some lands which he held in trust for his nieces, and some goods of his relations, for the king's use. The bishop, when he heard it, wrote to Lexinton, observing to him, how strange it was, that men of their respectable characters should punish a man for informing them of what was just and right; and it certainly was but just and right, that pleas of blood ought not to be held on a Sunday; since the canons directed that the day should be kept holy, and forbade that markets should be held, or pleas prosecuted, or any person be adjudged either to death or punishment, upon it. The dean, he said, ought therefore to have been commended by them, and rewarded, for cautioning them against sinning, rather than punished; and would have been culpable himself, if he had not apprized them of their fault. His lordship, in the conclusion, beseeches and intreats them to have regard to the sabbath of the Lord, if they were desirous of being true and obedient sons of Christ the legislator, and his spouse the Church; and, if the matters reported to him were true, that they would redress them; remembering, that, supposing the dean had given them

(*a*) Decanus Christianitatis. Mr. Brown is mistaken in reputed him the same with the dean of a Cathedral; for, see Somner, *Antiq. of Cant.* p. 177; Du Fresne, *Decanus*; Kennett, *Par. Antiq.* p. 635. What he says again of H. being dean of Lincoln is groundless; for either *W. de Tournay*, or *R. de Weseham*, was now dean, the latter succeeding the former. I take this letter to be written in 1240; when Weseham was dean. But perhaps it was written A. 1246; when, as bishop Kennet states, *R. de Lexinton* made his last itinerant circuit; and then, it is thought, H. de Lexinton was dean of the church. See Willis, p. 75. He, however, was a different person from H. the rural or urban dean. One of the ecclesiastical divisions of the county of Leicester is still called *Decanatus Christianitatis*.

offence, it was not their business to punish him, since, according to the law of God (*a*) and the canons, the personal faults of clergymen are not to be animadverted on, or punished, by secular judges; nor would the Church ever suffer ecclesiastical liberty to be so injured and insulted (*b*). We have seen the bishop's sentiments on this last point before (*c*).

The untoward academical broil above spoken of being happily disposed of, the bishop, who had taken the university of Oxford into his more immediate patronage and protection, and given exhibitions to many of the poorer scholars (*d*), wrote a letter to the regents in divinity there, soon after they had resumed their lectures, on the subject-matter of those exercises, and the time of performing them. The purport was, 'That as they were the master-builders of the house of God, which they were to erect on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone, he required them, as wise and prudent architects, to lay no stones in the foundation but such as should be suitable, and sufficient to bear the superstructure (*e*).' 'That these fundamental stones are the books of Moses and the Prophets, the Apostles and Evangelists, which they rightly laid when they explained those books to their auditors, by the gift of discerning spirits, according to the sense of the text (*f*).' 'That

(*a*) Such was the notion of our prelates at this time.

(*b*) Brown, p. 364.

(*c*) See p. 51.

(*d*) Wood, Hist. p. 94. See Appendix, N° I. on the name of Grosseteste. Hence M. Paris styles him *Scholarum Sustentator*, p. 876; and see, for the like exhibitions, Kennet, Par. Ant. p. 215, seq.

(*e*) 'Edificii supererigendi supportationi sua *sodalitate* convenientes et apti.' I suppose we should read *soliditate*, which word is used afterwards; and so it is printed in Brown, p. 392.

(*f*) Secundum mentem *editorum*. Should we not read *authorum*?

they should take care to use no stone for a fundamental one, that was not such; lest, for want of solidity, the superstructure should first be liable to cracks, and then become ruinous (a).’ ‘That the proper time for laying these foundation-stones was the morning, when they usually read their lectures; and therefore that the lectures, which were to be then read, should be taken from the New and Old Testament, lest otherwise any stones that were not fundamental should be laid.’ ‘That an unsuitable time, contrary to the sense of Holy Scripture, and the natural order of things, should not be assigned to any business, lest they should depart from the usages of their forefathers, and all conformity to the *Parisian* divines. And thus, as he vehemently desired that all things at *Oxford* should be done decently and in order, according to the Apostle’s precept, he earnestly begs of them, and affectionately exhorts them in Christ Jesus, that all their morning lectures might be upon the New or Old Testament; that so they might be like the householder, that brought out of his storehouse new things and old; and not other matters supposed to be means to this end, and compiled by many pious writers, to the study and learning of which, some other more convenient time might be appropriated (b).’

The Oxonians, very probably, were now beginning to read upon the *sentences* (c), and other books of that kind, which the bishop terms, *Horum media, aut ab Hagiographis pluribus superædificata*. However, Mr. Wood observes, that the divines at

(a) ‘Ne forte minor non-fundamentalium soliditas *superædificata* pariat prius rimosum et demum ruinofum.’ There is something wrong here; forte leg. *superædificatum*; and this reading I have followed. It is *superædificatum* in Brown, p. 392.

(b) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. p. 92; or Brown, p. 392.

(c) See Mr. Brown, p. 393.

Paris, whose example the bishop propounds to them, did not long adhere to the custom here recommended by his lordship, for the dreams of Joachim Abbas prevailed amongst them, being introduced by the mendicant orders, who had warm disputes with the *Parisian* doctors on many topics. That to these foolish novelties, which soon after were received by many, though by the more sober part of the university they were rejected and condemned, they gave the honourable name of the *Eternal Gospel* (a).

The bishop again, A. 1246, though I chuse to mention it here, complained to pope Innocent that his Oxonians often aspired to the degree of master in the several faculties, and presumed to read and teach, without undergoing a previous examination; and the pope, thereupon, impowered the bishop by a bull to take care that no one should read without being examined and approved by him, or his deputy, according to the mode and custom of the university of *Paris* (b).

In the grand quarel between the emperor and the pope, the citizens of Rome were strongly disposed to favour the emperor (c), who was now approaching that city (d). Many of the cardinals, seeing Gregory more governed by his own perverse will, than by the rules of right reason, had deserted him, scarcely any continuing with him but Robert de Somercote, an Englishman. Gregory, in short, was plunged in deep distress, and it behoved him instantly to think of some expedient to extricate himself,

(a) Joachim Abbas was a great enthusiast, and from his works the friars compiled this detestable book. M. Paris, p. 939. See more concerning it in Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 337, ll. p. 526.

(b) Wood, p. 94.

(c) M. Paris, p. 532.

(d) Idem, p. 527.

and to attach the citizens to his party. He fixed upon a most diabolical one, which was, to gain them by promising them, for their sons and relations, all the vacant benefices in England; those especially which belonged to the religious houses (*a*). And the conditions, on the part of the citizens, were, that they should universally commence hostilities against the emperor, and do all in their power to dethrone him. In pursuance of this agreement, Gregory soon after dispatched his bulls to Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury; Robert Groffeteste, bishop of Lincoln; and Robert de Bingham, bishop of Salisbury; to provide 300 Romans with the first benefices which should become vacant; and all the three were inhibited from collating any benefices till the Romans were served (*b*). And when *Mumelinus*, one of Otto's clerks, returned about All Saints day from Italy, whither he had been to carry money to his holiness, he brought with him 24 Romans, who were all to be preferred here (*c*). And M. Paris reports in one place, that Otto, whilst he was in England, had disposed of above 300 prebends, rectories, and other preferments, either by the direction of his holiness, or by his own arbitrary will (*d*).

The promotion of foreigners, principally Italians, to the English benefices, had been a grievance of some standing, and had been long complained of. In the year 1231 an insurrection was raised here upon this very account; and in the issue the lay-patrons got themselves secured from the like attempts upon their

(*a*) Gregory did not forget the check he had so lately received concerning the benefices of the lay-patrons. M. Paris, p. 512, seq.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 532, 613. Otto had demanded, A. 1226, two prebends from each cathedral, and two monks portions from each abbey. M. Paris, p. 330.

(*c*) Ibidem, p. 540, 533.

(*d*) Ibidem, p. 549.

churches for the future, so that the hardship fell afterwards chiefly upon those of the bishops and the monasteries. As the matter at that time was carried to a great length, as the plot was in appearance so deeply laid, and in the event turned out so happily for the laity, it has been thought proper to put a narrative of it into the Appendix (*a*). To return: what became of the Pope's mandate in this behalf, we are not particularly informed; but it would necessarily prove extremely disgusting to the bishop of Lincoln, who on all occasions expressed an utter abhorrence of having incompetent foreigners promoted to church preferments here (*b*). The archbishop actually left the kingdom upon this, and other concurring causes (*c*), and never returned. But the pope, on his part, had a further reason for adopting this measure, which was, that he could easily, and without contradiction, extort large subsidies from these Aliens, so absolutely his own creatures (*d*): Thus, in 1246, when he demanded a third only from the resident clergy, he exacted an half from the non-residents (*e*), who were chiefly Italians, and moreover were generally well preferred, as refusing to accept of the smaller benefices (*f*).

It may not be impertinent here to mention another artifice of the pope's, as mean as it was scandalous, and in which the bishop of Lincoln, as diocesan, was remotely concerned. His holiness sent a strict mandate (*g*) to the abbat and convent of

(*a*) Appendix, N° XVIII.

(*b*) See on the year 1251.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 533. See above under A. 1238.

(*d*) See particularly M. Paris, p. 525.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 716.

(*f*) Ibidem, p. 754, 645.

(*g*) Cum precibus armatis et monitis terrificis.

Peterborough, to allot him some rectory of 100 marks a year at least, and if it was double he should not dislike it. He proposed to regrant it to them for that rent, and so the monastery might enjoy the remainder by appropriation. Gregory proposed, by this barefaced piece of chicanery (*a*), to secure a pension of an hundred marks for ever, and also to make this a precedent for the like practices upon other religious houses. The convent, however, would not comply, but desired time, till their abbat Walter de St. Edmundo, who was then absent, should return. To him they sent, and related the whole affair; and he, being a man of spirit, made a report of it to the king, their patron and founder, shewing him the danger and iniquity of the proceeding; and he put a final stop to it (*b*). But, for this, the abbat was sufficiently humbled afterwards at Rome, where his disgrace was so insufferable, and he laid it so much to heart, that it occasioned his death (*c*). This unworthy attempt on the house at Peterborough, and its probable consequences, if it had not ended so tragically, must have filled the honest and susceptible mind of the diocesan with unspeakable indignation, being a gross and most infamous abuse of what was bad enough of itself, the appropriation of churches.

The bishop visited the priory of Dunstable, A. 1240, and exacted an oath from the canons, probably to enforce a strict observance of their rule, together with certain other injunctions. This, however, was thought severe; and Walter de Gledelle,

(*a*) M. Paris terms it, very justly, pernicioſa pactio, ſimonia et occulta fraus.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 554.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 657. A shocking scheme of Pet. Equeblank's for raising money by forgery, A. 1255, is related by Matthew, p. 910. The pope was not only privy to it, but even authorised it by his bull.

one of the canons, refusing to take the oath, left the house, and became a monk at Woburne (*a*).

John Laci, earl of Lincoln, a person who had a great share in the King's counsel (*b*), died July 22, 1240, after a long illness (*c*); and Margaret, his dowager, 'had the manors of Ingoldemers, Throfeby, Houton, and Seggebrock, assigned by the king for her maintenance, untill her dowry out of her late husband's lands should be set forth (*d*).' She afterwards married Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke, 1242 (*e*). And if that piece of bishop Grosseteste's, intituled, 'Regulæ quas bonæ memoriæ Rob. Grosseteste fecit comitissæ Lyncolniæ ad custodiendum et regendum terras, hospitium, domum et familiam,' was written for the service of this lady in her widowhood, it must have been composed 1240 or 1241. Robert had been but a few years then in his fee, but perhaps there might be a family acquaintance and friendship in the case, John Laci having been constable of Chester, where the bishop had been archdeacon. Margaret, again, was daughter of Robert Quinci, eldest son of Saer, earl of Winchester, and Hawise, 4th sister of Ranulph, last earl of Chester, of that name, in whose time Grosseteste had been archdeacon there, and intimate probably in the family; and on this supposition, his lordship's respect and veneration for the mother might naturally be transferred upon the daughter.

(*a*) Annal. Dünstap. p. 244.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 446. He was brought over to the king's party by a bribe of 1000 marks, given him by Peter de Rupibus. Dugd. Baron. I. p. 102.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 533.

(*d*) Dugd. Ibidem.

(*e*) Idem, Ibidem, where by mistake he is called William; for see the same author, p. 607, and Brooke.

But

But the lady Hawise herself was countess of Lincoln (*a*); and though her son in law, John Laci, was actually created earl 13 Hen. III. or 1233, she nevertheless retained the title of countess till her death, in 1241 (*b*); so that possibly the work in question might be compiled for the use of this lady in her widowhood, and if so, it must have been written before 1241; and perhaps long before; for, if we consider it, order and rules on such a subject would come much more properly from the pen of an archdeacon, than from that of a prelate of the church, and a prelate like Groffeteste, who from the hour of his consecration expended his whole time in the proper business of his function.

The book was written in Latin (*c*); but amongst the Harleian MSS. we have *Reules a la Cunteffe de Nichole*, which seems to be a French version of it. Perhaps it might be written originally in French, being intended for the use of a lady, and turned into Latin afterwards.

We have already seen one instance, in the case of Thomas Walensis, of the bishop's calling a learned Oxonian from an umbratile state of life in the university into a more public scene. Nicolas de Fernham (*d*) joined the study of medicine (*e*) with

(*a*) Dugdale, p. 533.

(*b*) Chron. Joh. Abb. Petrib. p. 109.

(*c*) See Catalogue of the Bishop's works, p. 347.

(*d*) Quære, if his family-name was not De Fulii. M. Paris, p. 206. Or is this to be read *Filice*, thus Latinizing his English name.

(*e*) The clergy were generally the physicians in these times. So John de St. Giles, card. Albus, and Groffeteste himself. And see Orderic. Vital. p. 550, 656, 719; Godwyn, p. 366; M. Paris in Vit. p. 133-94, 116, 137; et in Hist. 410, 412, 573. 764; Burton's Leic. p. 80; Warton's Hist. of Engl. Poetr. p. LXXXIV Fabric. Bibl. Gr. XII. p. 739; Warton again, p. 442. The Abbat of Croxton attended king John in his last illness.

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that of theology at Oxford, Paris, and, as Mr. Wharton thinks, at Cambridge; he went also to Bologna in Italy, and was particularly eminent in the former profession, having acquainted himself with the writings of the Greek physicians. He was accordingly advanced to the high honour of being physician both to the king and queen (*a*).

Nicholas, as an ecclesiastic, had some benefices, to which he was collated by bishop Grosseteste (*b*); and in 1239 was elected, by both chapters, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Nicholas, however, thought proper to decline the offer, regarding this see as a litigious piece of preferment at that time, and in a bad situation, meaning, I suppose, in respect of the borders towards Wales (*c*). And so, when he was afterwards unanimously elected to the opulent see of Durham, he would not accept it, lest it should be thought he rejected the other, because he aspired after this great one, and was very positive and peremptory in his refusal; but at last he acquiesced by the persuasion of bishop Grosseteste. The bishop, it seems, pressed him very closely. 'The monks of Durham,' says he, 'are destitute of a pastor (*d*), and with tears are begging for an head; and will not you consent to their request, when regularly and canonically chosen? I conjure you by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 550, 573. Wharton, Ang. Sac. I. p. 736. Sir William Dugdale, indeed, by *custos corporis regii*, understands that he was tutor to the king. Baron. I. p. 606. But the king had now been long out of tutelage, and what is meant by *custos* here is clearly explained by the words following, *physicus et custos*; so that by *custos corporis regii* nothing can be meant but conservator or guardian of the king's health; and it is remarkable that M. Paris uses *custodia* in that sense afterwards. See Q. Curt. III. 6. § 1. where *custos salutis* is used of Philip, Alexander's physician.

(*b*) Tanner, Bibl. Brit. p. 277. M. Paris, p. 550.

(*c*) See M. Paris, p. 486, 489.

(*d*) Bishop Poore had been dead almost 4 years.

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‘ to undertake the burthen, and to receive the honour ; for the
 ‘ king (*a*), unless he be out of his senses, will never oppose
 ‘ your election. Consider, if you do not comply, his highness
 ‘ will set some contrivance on foot to impose some degenerate
 ‘ and unworthy foreigner upon that church, to the detriment
 ‘ and subversion of the ecclesiastical dignity, and to the danger
 ‘ of the whole realm ; since the see of Durham is placed in the
 ‘ marches and confines of the two kingdoms of England and
 ‘ Scotland ; and the two fortresses of Norham and Durham are,
 ‘ on that side, the chief bulwarks of the kingdom against the
 ‘ inroads of our enemies.’ Grosseteste shewed himself, in this,
 to be a true friend both to Church and State ; and he was so happy
 as to prevail with Nicholas, who was consecrated June 9, 1241,
 and proved a good prelate (*b*) ; but, being old, chose to resign
 his see, on a pension (*c*), 1249, and died 1257. How-
 ever, before his resignation, about 1247, he founded, with
 the consent of the chapter of Durham, the college of St. Edmund
 at Gateshead (*d*).

The proceedings in the great cause between the bishop and his
 canons were still going on abroad ; when some of the canons,
 being at London, produced a charter, or paper, tending to shew,

(*a*) The king is mentioned because he had recommended Peter de Equeblank,
 elect of Hereford, or Boniface, the Queen’s uncle ; but the monks, knowing no-
 thing of these foreigners, would not comply.

(*b*) He was personally known to M. Paris, and bore a respectable character.
 M. Paris, p. 206, 549.

(*c*) Pensions on resignation were common now in other cases as well as
 bishopricks. Allan, Sherburn, p. 18, 22 ; Memoirs of Rog. de Weseham, p. 44 ;
 Hutchinson, Antiq. of Durham, vol. II. passim. These resignations and pensions
 became afterwards a great grievance in the church. Ibid, p. 593.

(*d*) Mr. Allan, Collectan. Dunelm. p. 427, seq.

that

that the pretensions of the bishop to visit them was all a novelty and encroachment. This curious paper I shall remit into the appendix (*a*), only noting here the import of it, as to the matter in hand, and the unhappy effects it produced. It set forth, 'that
' at the foundation of the church of Lincoln, the establishment
' was, that any canon offending against discipline was to be visited
' and punished by the dean; but if his correction did not avail,
' the bishop was to be called in, and after him the king. That
' this constitution was confirmed by proper authority, and sub-
' scribed, and, after the church was dedicated, all that were
' present solemnly excommunicated all infringers of this ordi-
' nance;' whereupon the canons argued, 'that since the dean
' was neither negligent nor unskilful, nor unable to visit de-
' linquents and correct abuses, it was unjust and insolent in the
' bishop to intrude and pretend to visit; and that he did not
' totally escape the edge of the sentence of excommunication
' so formally pronounced by such a number of holy men.'

It will be enough to say here, that this paper was absolutely all a forgery, and of a very base kind (*b*), and that therefore we have no reason to believe that any such ordinance passed at the foundation of the church; nor is it likely that the kings of England should be appointed visitors, in the *dernier resort*, of an ecclesiastical foundation, which had nothing peculiar in its institution respecting the crown. The king, however, made a handle of this paper, and, of course, took the side of the canons, who had thus put it in his power to interfere. Be this as it will, the king's interposition shed a malignant influence on the cause,

(*a*) Appendix, N^o XIII.

(*b*) See what will be said in the Appendix, N^o XIII.

in respect of both parties, as M. Paris himself confesses, by occasioning frequent sinister and expensive delays, and preventing any final determination of the contest here (*a*), inasmuch that, at last, the bishop was obliged, for his part, to cross the sea, and to make a journey to Lyons, to expedite the matter, as we shall see in the sequel.

A difference arose between our bishop and Richard de Berking, abbat of Westminster, which involved them in great expences, and became very burthenfome to both parties. The account which M. Paris, an author much addicted to partiality in matters respecting convents, gives, is this: On the avoidance of the church of Hefwelle (*b*), the bishop, in contempt of all the charters produced by the abbat to shew that this rectory was appropriated to his church of Westminster, strong as they were, endeavoured to seize it by violence (*c*); and on a slight pretence to deprive the monks of it, and to collate one *Nicholas* (*d*), a person whom the bishop had before inhumanly stripped of his benefices; but the abbat manfully opposed him (*e*). Matthew, you observe, bears hard upon the bishop, both in respect of his quarrel with the abbat, and his treatment of Nicholas. We are by no means master of the case in regard to Nicholas, for we do not so much as know certainly who he was; but the word in the historian being *inhumanè* and not *injustè*, there is room to believe his lord-

(*a*) Nec potuit propter talis repaguli impedimentum res optatum finem pacis componendæ sortiri, sed dilationis cepit sumptuosam expectationem. M. Paris, p. 572.

(*b*) Ashwell, co. Herts; but in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon; Sir H. Chauncy, Antiq. of Herts, p. 33, seq. It is written Aesceswylla in Widmore, p. 17.

(*c*) The bishop, you will suppose, did not mean to retain this rectory, but only to ordain a vicarage there, which the abbat did not like.

(*d*) Quære, if master Nicholas, rector of St. Julian, promoted 1235. M. Paris, in vit. p. 135.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 570.

ship did Nicholas no injustice, but only treated him according to the strict rule of discipline, to which he always closely adhered. And this is the more credible, because his lordship was so willing to prefer him after his former deprivation. If this then were the case, there was neither injustice nor inhumanity in it.

The dispute between the bishop and the abbat was soon after accommodated by the king's mediation. His majesty had been solicited, to that purpose, by the abbat, and, having the bishop with him about the business of *Tame* above-mentioned (*a*), and seeing him in perfect good humour, he would not suffer him to depart, until he had compromised, by his good offices, the ruinous dispute subsisting between the two prelates. The temperament proposed was, that the abbat should retain the rectory of Ashwell, and the bishop have the advowson of the vicarage (*b*); a proposal redounding much to the honour and profit of the abbey, the historian terming it *non minimum commodum* (*c*). Thus the bishop, on the 12th of October, 1241, consented the rectory should be appropriated to the abbey of Westminster; and at the same time ordained and endowed the vicarage, in a sufficient and ample manner (*d*), though he thought proper to make some alteration in the settlement, November 9, 1244 (*e*). The bishop did it, he says, by *apostolical authority*, by which, however, I

(*a*) See Account of John Basingstoke, under A. 1238, p. 70.

(*b*) This, however, does not agree with the original endowment, according to which the convent was to present to the vicarage. Sir H. Chauncy, p. 37. And the convent actually continued patrons till their dissolution. Ibid, p. 38. The bishop, I presume, was to collate the first time only.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 571.

(*d*) Indeed he was generally thought to do so. See in the year 1236.

(*e*) Sir H. Chauncy, p. 37.

understand no more than that he proceeded upon the canon in this behalf made, and not as particularly authorized for this case.

That turbulent (*a*) Pontiff, Gregory IX. departed this life August 22. The person chosen for his successor was Jeffery, a Milanese, who took the name of Cælestine IV.; but he, being old and infirm, sat no longer than 18 days, being, as was suspected, poisoned (*b*); and *Sinibald*, a Genoese, who assumed the name of Innocent, was elected. However, at this time, and I think after the death of Cælestine, who was taken off November 22, the archbishop of York (*c*), bishop Groffeteste, and the bishops of Norwich and Carlisle, had a consultation with the superior clergy, both religious and secular, concerning the desolate state and condition of the catholic church, and to implore the divine aid and assistance in its behalf. They argued, that a form of prayer, with fasting, should be used throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of beseeching God to respect and commiserate the Holy See of Rome, now destitute of a pastor, and to revive and restore her. They further came to a resolution to address the Emperor Frederic (*d*), by sending some special messengers

(*a*) Bello in imperatorem moto totum orbem Christianum tumultu permiscuit, Angliamque maxime perturbavit. M. Parker, p. 260.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 576; or else suffocated, as p. 805.

(*c*) Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, was now abroad.

(*d*) The emperor, Frederic II. was formed with abilities to cope with any successor of St. Peter, being as artful and cunning as the shrewdest of them, and as attentive to his own interest; for the advancement of which he was not very scrupulous in the choice of means. He saw plainly, that the popes, with respect to him, wanted to make a precedent of their transactions with John, king of England. M. Paris, p. 560. And this was the real view of the Roman Pontiffs, p. 569, that is, first to crush the emperor, and then the lesser princes, who in a manner would fall of course, p. 660, 774.

to him, and to beg of him to abate of his anger and malice against her, as he respected the good of his soul; to desist from his tyrannical proceedings; no longer to obstruct her prosperity; but suffer her, how much soever he had been provoked, to breathe; and to remonstrate, that those were dead, meaning the late popes, who had given him offence, and that it was cruel and unreasonable that the innocent should suffer for the guilty. The prelates seem clearly to acknowledge, by this application, that the popes had been the aggressors, and the party most culpable, in all the late broils. However, when they came to nominate and appoint proper persons to go upon the embassy, and who, passing through France, and other interjacent countries, were to exhort the prelates of those parts to join with them in their supplication, none of the parties there present would undertake the journey, but all of them made some excuse or other; so that at last they were obliged to have recourse to the mendicant orders, and to persuade them, who had been used to ramble all the world over, to engage in it. The friars went accordingly to the emperor; when he, instead of returning them any other answer, only asked them, who it was that obstructed the advancement of the Church? 'Certainly,' said he, 'not I; but the intolerable pride, and insatiable avarice, of the Church itself. But indeed,' continued he, 'should I have been an impediment, either to the welfare of the *English* or the *Roman* Church, who could wonder at it, since the latter left no stone unturned to deprive me of my imperial dignity, and the former hath excommunicated me, hath shockingly abused and defamed me, and hath even exhausted her treasures to injure and overwhelm me?' Thus all this specious negotiation ended without effect (a), the emperor's allegations being all literally true.

(a) M. Paris, p. 577.

The bishop this year, according to the best accounts (*a*), by his own skill and labour, and the assistance of his learned friends (*b*), atchieved a literal translation from the Greek original of the Testament of the XII Patriarchs. This spurious piece had a most pestilential effect on his lordship's mind, by impressing him with false notions of the hierarchy; with higher and more exorbitant ideas concerning the priesthood than either the dictates of reason, or the authority of scripture, could ever possibly support (*c*). But, as this extraordinary performance, for such it really was in respect of the state of learning in those times, has been mentioned before (*d*), and will be noticed again in the catalogue of the bishop's works, I need not enlarge upon it any further here.

Jordan, clerk of the prior de Ware, subdeacon, was presented by N. the prior to the church of Charleton, A. 1242, under a reservation of ten marks, payable annually to Roger, son of Roger, earl of Winchester, clerk, so long as he shall continue to behave himself well in the clerical habit, does not marry, nor enter into religion, nor acquire any other ecclesiastical benefice (*e*). This is what we call *quartering*, and I wonder the bishop would consent to it; but we have seen something of the same kind before, under the year 1238, where the bishop proposes to Otto, the legate, as an expedient to accommodate a

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 597; Wharton Ang. Sac. p. 345; Leland. Collect. III. p. 329; Hearne ad Gul. Neubrig. p. 813.

(*b*) See below, A. 1248.

(*c*) Appendix, N° XII. His lordship talks in the same strain in Annal. Burton. p. 396; and it is certain that the same notion prevailed at Rome. See Fox's Mart. I. p. 1023.

(*d*) P. 68, ad ann. 1234.

(*e*) Rot. Grosseteste, ann. 8.

difference

difference between the legate and himself, about institution to a benefice, that a layman under age should receive a stipend from a rector to be instituted into the living of *Randes*. Brooke and Dugdale know nothing of Roger, son of Roger earl of Winchester: perhaps he was a natural son, put into orders by dispensation.

Walter de Cantilupe^(a), bishop of Winchester, had a high opinion of bishop Grosseteste's judgement; and when the king proposed taking him with him to France, to assist in promoting a peace, he sent one of his clerks to consult Grosseteste whether he should go or not. Grosseteste states to him, that the first duty of a bishop was to attend to the care of souls; and that the consideration ought to be, whether that point would be best gained and secured by staying at home, and attending the souls of his own flock, or by going abroad for the good of souls in general. That of this he could not pretend to judge; but wishes they could de-

(a) Walter, son of lord Cantilupe, (Dugd. Bar. I. p. 732) was a nobleman of great spirit, and had been an agent of the king. The 29th canon of the Lateran Council, in 1216, was leveled against pluralities without dispensation; and when Otto, the legate, in 1237, had prepared a constitution to enforce the canon, and offered it to the Council at St. Paul's, London, Walter put off his mitre, and spoke thus to the legate: 'Holy Father, since many noblemen, that have such blood as mine running in their veins, hold pluralities without dispensation, some of whom are old, and have lived magnificently, it would be too hard to reduce them to a disgraceful poverty by deprivation. Some of them are young and bold, and would run the last risque rather than be confined to one benefice. I know this by myself; for, before I was advanced to this dignity, I resolved with myself, that, if by virtue of such a constitution I must lose one benefice, I would lose all: It is to be feared there are many of this mind; therefore, we beseech your pater-nity to consult our lord the pope on this point.' This speech caused Otto to drop his constitution, and, as Mr. Johnson thinks, to insert only a few lines instead of it. See Johnson, Collection, &c. 1237, Art. 13; and M. Paris, p. 448; whence it appears that Otto himself was sensible beforehand that this article would meet with strong opposition.

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liberate

liberate together on the subject *vivâ voce*: and then he tells him, that as this cannot be, and he expects friar Adam de Marisco, a particular friend of Walter's, to come to him at Easter, he will confer with him on the question; desiring Walter himself in the mean time to be weighing and considering the matter and its consequences, and to impart to him the result of his own thoughts, for the purpose of enabling him and friar Adam to determine on the case (a).

The king wrote a letter to our bishop about this time, enquiring after his health, and informing him of his own, the queen's, and his children's welfare. His majesty reproached him gently withal, for not coming to court, nor sending to enquire after him and his; and the bishop apologizes, by observing, that true friendship consists not in frequenting our friends when they were in a prosperous state, as, he blessed God, his highness was; but in adversity, when one ought with all speed to fly to their relief. And in regard to veneration and respect, which he acknowledged was due to his highness, and might demand his personal appearance, he had omitted, he said, no opportunity of shewing himself to him, as far as was consistent with the weakness of his bodily frame, and the urgent business of his diocese, which he was sure his highness would not desire him to neglect. He hoped, therefore, his highness would excuse him till it was more convenient to him, assuring him in the *interim* he should have all proper regard both for his temporal prosperity, and his eternal welfare (b).

On the death of Archbishop Edmund, A. 1242, the prior and convent of Canterbury claimed jurisdiction over the whole

(a) Brown, p. 377.

(b) Ibidem, p. 378.

province,

province, during the vacancy of the see (a). But this the suffragans were very unwilling to admit, and bishop Grosseteste wrote to his friend Otto, who was now abroad with Innocent the new pope, and with whom he was now on a better footing than lately he had been (b), to intercede with his holiness on their behalf. He calls it an unusual claim, and yet the prior and convent had suspended and excommunicated him, and some others of his brethren the bishops, for opposing it, even after their lordships had made their appeal to the Holy See, and were ready to enter on their defence. As to himself, he did not feel himself, he said, at all affected by their sentence; but still, as it might prejudice him in the opinion of others, and make them think worse of his ministrations, he had obtained a mandate from the pope to the prior and convent, to relax the sentence within eight days after the receipt of the bull, or that the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham should do it. He did not judge proper, however, to make use of this bull, lest it should hurt the cause, since the adversary might allege, that by the terms of that instrument, and their act of relaxation in consequence of it, their right was clearly acknowledged and established. He, therefore, supplicates Otto's mediation with the pope, for the procurement of some better and more effectual remedy from his holiness, asserting, that the bishops of the province had ever been, *vacante sede*, immediately subject to the Holy See, which, whenever a new bishop was elected in that interval, always confirmed the election; a privilege, which the prior and convent had endeavoured never-

(a) See hereafter the case of the abbat of Bardney.

(b) See Brown, p. 380.

theless, to the great prejudice of the see of Rome, in this last vacancy, to usurp. His lordship then proceeds to shew the unfitness, the evil, and absurdity, of the convent's claim, from various topics; but I shall refer the reader, for his arguments, to the letter itself (*a*).

Boniface, by the way, a native of Provence, and the Queen's uncle, was elected and confirmed archbishop of Canterbury, at a vast expence to the crown, the king having his promotion much at heart.

The bishop was embroiled again this year with the prior and convent of Canterbury. An ecclesiastic demanded of Walter de Beningworth, abbat of Bardney, payment of a debt contracted by his predecessor, William de Repton. The house at Bardney was an ample foundation, and enjoyed some pontifical privileges, which, Thomas Wallæus, archdeacon of Lincoln, was desirous of abolishing, and took an occasion of doing it from this dispute. He, for this purpose, gave the creditor an hint to make his complaint to him, and he would procure him his money, even by violence, if it could not otherwise be done. The clerk proceeded according to his directions; and the archdeacon cited the abbat to appear in his court, to answer the complaint, and to be dealt with according to law. This the abbat refused, as inconsistent with the rights of his abbey and contrary to custom, and made his appeal. Upon which, the archdeacon summoned the abbat to appear elsewhere (*b*); but the abbat still refused, relying on his former appeal; for he knew, says the historian, the archdeacon was laying a train for him, his design being to weaken and inva-

(*a*) Brown, p. 384. See Annal. Dunstap. p. 258.

(*b*) Before the bishop, as appears from what follows.

Hdate, by this means, the liberty and exemption of his house, as he had learnt from what had formerly passed, and was now well assured of it by these steps. He was also well aware, that if this cause should be carried before the bishop (which was what the archdeacon proposed) his lordship would certainly favour the archdeacon, to the subversion of the privileges of the monks, of whom he was reckoned a general persecutor, especially of those who claimed the like exemptions. The archdeacon then, willing to bring the business to a hearing, complained to the bishop, who cited the abbat to answer all these charges. But the abbat, persisting in his appeal, contemned this citation likewise; for he knew the bishop's warm temper, and that he would infallibly patronize the archdeacon in the affair. Whereupon the bishop, full of resentment, and incensed beyond all reason, says the author (a), excommunicated the abbat for his contumacy; and the abbat was so prudent as to bear the sentence patiently, lest he should be further punished for his contempt.

Some few days after, the bishop sent certain visitors to the abbey: these were secular clergy, and more likely to insult the monks than to correct abuses, were any to be found; for which reason the monks refused them admittance, both because they must needs be adversaries, being sent by their open enemy the bishop, and were seculars, who could know nothing of the affairs of monks; and likewise because the abbat, who was their pastor and head, and by whose example they were to be governed in all things, was at this time under sentence of excommunication. Thus, when the visitors pressed to enter the house, expostulated the matter, and even by exposing their

(a) We must remember M. Paris's known partiality to all monks.

persons,

persons, subjected themselves to have violent hands laid upon them, the janitors repelled them, and shut the gates against them, saying, 'We desire you would retire immediately, before those who are set against you, and whom we cannot hinder, rush upon you against our wills.' The visitors, upon this, retired with threats, and made their complaints to the bishop, aggravating matters, and saying, that the armed monks were on the point of falling upon them, and that, as it were, they had been beaten by the servants of the monastery, which was more than the truth.

The bishop was excessively provoked at this, and threatened the abbat and convent with ruin and confusion to the utmost of his power, whilst the abbat, dejected with sorrow, was greatly at a loss what to do. At last, understanding that the convent of Canterbury had the power of receiving and hearing appeals, during the vacancy of the Holy See (*a*), he had recourse to the expedient of making a report of his grievance to them.

The bishop's indignation being increased by this, he convened Adam, bishop of Connor (*b*), Ranulph, abbat of Ramsey, and Walter de St. Edmund, abbat of Peterborough, both Benedictine abbats of his own diocese, at Hertford; and there ignominiously deposed the abbat of Bardney, though absent, and having nobody to answer or plead for him, as a contumacious convict, on account, as was alleged, of the irregularity of his proceeding in the appeal, and that he had not previously preferred his complaint to him as his diocesan. He then sent notice to the monks of Bardney, that they were not to obey the abbat any longer, but esteem him deposed, even as an excommunicate.

(*a*) Both the see of Rome, and the see of Canterbury, were vacant at this time.

(*b*) Abbat of Warden in Bedfordshire, but made bishop of Connor in 1242.

When it was related to the convent of Canterbury, that the bishop of Lincoln had so contemptuously violated their privileges, they assembled fifty priests of the bishop's own diocese, and in full convent, where fifty or more monks in priests orders were present, solemnly excommunicated the bishop with bell, book, and candle, as an ingrate, and a rebel to that church of which he was a suffragan.

The bishop, with his party, when he received the letters importing this, threw them on the ground and trod upon them, to the vast astonishment of the beholders, on account of the effigies of St. Thomas impressed upon the seal (*a*). And moreover he flew into so great a passion, that he said, in the hearing of all that were present, "he did not desire the monks should *otherwise pray* for his soul as long as the world endured (*b*);" and withal gave orders that the messenger whom he loaded with reproaches should be arrested. And when the officers, in regard to his priesthood (for he was a priest), were afraid of doing it, he ordered the priest to be driven from his palace, as a vile slave, or a robber, at which those prudent and learned men, who were then in the palace, were still more astonished; since, if there were no other reason, the priest might very justly accuse the bishop of laying violent hands on him. As for the sentence, his lordship so little regarded it, that he never forbore officiating (*c*), dedicating churches, and performing all other acts incidental to

(*a*) The seal of the church of Canterbury then represented the martyrdom of Thomas à Becket. Somner, *Antiq. of Canterb.* p. 126.

(*b*) Bishop Grosseteste had not that high opinion of the fraternity, as it was called, of the monks, as our king James II. had of that of the Jesuits, who got himself made partaker of all the merits of the order at Liege. Bishop Burnet, *Hist. of his own Times*, II. p. 420.

(*c*) Somner, *Antiq. of Canterb.* p. 126.

the episcopal function, not considering, says the author, that such contempt, even though the sentence should be unjust, might furnish a strong prepossession in favour of the justice of their proceeding (a).

The end of the matter was, that whilst it was depending, *Sinibald* was chosen pope, by the name of Innocent IV; and both parties, of consequence, sent their agent to the court at Anagnina, where Sinibald was elected. The new pope gave his definitive sentence, whence it appears, that the bishop had appealed to the court of Rome against the power arrogated by the prior and convent of Canterbury *sede vacante*, and had petitioned to be relieved against it; and further, that the prior and convent had excommunicated other persons besides the bishop, probably the archdeacon of Lincoln. The sentence was, that the prior and convent, within eight days after the receipt of the bull, should relax the sentences they had pronounced, without prejudicing the rights of either party; otherwise the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham were empowered to do it (b). His holiness denies, that the prior and convent of Canterbury had ever exercised the power of the metropolitan (c); however, the affair was thus concluded, and the abbat of Bardney continued deposed.

The king, on the deprivation of the abbat, seized on the temporalities, but directed his officer to furnish and supply the ab-

(a) Non perpendens, quod ex contemptu, etsi injusta sit sententia, robur tamen inde formidabile posset sortiri justitiæ. M. Paris, p. 602. These authors use the terms *celebrare* and *divina celebrare*, as a short mode of expression, for *divina officia, vel obsequia, celebrare*.

(b) M. Paris, p. 605.

(c) And see Collier, Eccl. Hist. I. p. 431, 447, who remarks the absurdity of a convent of monks, the best qualified of whom were no more than priests, enjoying metropolitanical jurisdiction.

bat, and his party, with necessaries more amply than their adversaries, and to allow the said abbat free access to the church. This bishop Grosseteste thought could not possibly proceed from the king's own notion of things, but that his majesty must have been circumvented in it; since he could not but know, that the cognizance of this cause did not appertain to any secular power how great soever; and therefore he desired, by letter, that his majesty would cause his instructions to be recalled (a).

The bishop was very sensible, that, at this juncture, the king did not conduct himself in the government with that wisdom and prudence that became him, or was needful for the good of his kingdom. He saw plainly many causes of discontent, and that others were likely to arise; and therefore he wrote to the queen to intreat her to have regard to the welfare of the church and kingdom, and to lead the king into better and more salutary measures, for the relief not only of the people, but also of the clergy and priesthood, *de insolitis & novis angustiis* (b); alluding, I suppose, to the exorbitant sums of money the king was continually extorting from them.

Sir Peter de Rupibus, knight, bishop of Winchester, died in 1238 (c), and the king set his heart upon promoting the queen's uncle, William, elect of Valencia (d), to that rich see, being as much bent upon it as an unstable man could be, and leaving no stone unturned to effect it. Henry had promised, and even sworn, to remove all foreigners from his counsels, and

(a) Brown, p. 379.

(b) Ibid. p. 380. Considering the party addressed, I wonder the bishop did not chuse to write his letter in French, rather than Latin. There was propriety in writing to the king in this language, because there is some reason to believe he understood it. M. Paris, p. 800.

(c) M. Paris, p. 472.

(d) A city of Dauphinè lying on the Rhosne. *Electum de Valentia*.

much more not to prefer them; but, this notwithstanding, no sooner did the monks of Winchester (*a*), approach his presence for the *congé d'elire*, but he began to confer with them on that subject, and to press them, before he granted his licence, to accept of his uncle. The monks, regarding William as a man of blood (*b*), were determined beforehand to reject him, in case he should be proposed to them; and now, to avoid giving a direct answer, they dissembled the matter, and desired time to consider of it, along with the rest of their brethren. The king saw through this subterfuge; but nevertheless, to make short, granted the licence. But when he afterwards heard they talked of demanding William de Ralegh, bishop of Norwich (*c*), for their prelate, and were in a manner agreed upon it; he was highly exasperated, and observed, with some tartness, "They have declined accepting of William elect of Valentia, as a man of blood, and they have turned their eyes upon one who hath put more people to death by his tongue, than ever the other did by his sword," alluding to the persuasive eloquence of De Ralegh at the Bar; and he swore withal, *that he never would suffer this*. The monks, dreading the king's anger, desisted for the present; but this did not hinder his majesty from taking up his abode, with a vast retinue, in the manors of the see of

(*a*) Hugh de Rupibus, &c. Le Neve, p. 290.

(*b*) M. Paris, pp. 472, 473, 517, whence it appears he was more a warrior than a person either of religion or literature. It is insinuated, p. 488, that he had killed a man.

(*c*) Vir utique per omnia laudabilis. M. Paris, p. 473. Indeed, his character was irreproachable; and he had been particularly dear and serviceable to the king, whence Innocent IV. styles him "hominem scientia, moribus, & honestate perspicuum, ac in spiritualibus & temporalibus circumspectum, olim tibi [regi] charum & amabilem, &c." M. Paris, p. 634.

Winchester, and wasting the possessions and stocks (*a*) which the late bishop had bequeathed to his successor (*b*). The elect of Valentia died in the mean time in Italy, of poison it was thought (*c*). But to pass by this, as also the postulation of Ralph de Nevil, bishop of Chichester (*d*), the deposing of the prior of Winchester, the election of De Ralegh, the king's design in favour of Boniface of Savoy, another of the queen's uncles, the interposition of Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, the continued ravages committed by the king's officers and servants on the prelatical estates (*e*), the violences, and even the bloodshed at the city of Winchester; and, lastly, the extent upon the fee of Norwich to prevent De Ralegh from receiving any succours from thence; I say, to pass by all these, when William saw the supplies from Norwich intercepted, himself obstructed from entering his palace in Southwark, and the Londoners prohibited from selling him even victuals, he complained heavily to his brethren the bishops of the uncommon severity of his treatment; and

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 473.

(*b*) Idem, p. 472.

(*c*) Procurante magistro Laurentio Anglico, sed postmodum eo ritè purgato. The king had obtained from the pope the bishopric of Liege for him. Idem, p. 517.

(*d*) A native of the bishoprick of Durham. Pat. Sanderson, p. 124.

(*e*) The waste and spoil committed at this time was inexpressible; but this king was often exceeding culpable on this head. Every one of the bishopricks, except York, fell vacant in the space of between thirty and forty years, to say nothing of the abbies and priories. This was a mighty source of wealth to the crown, even in a common way, as we may judge from the following instance: The house at St. Albans, on the death of abbat William, in 1235, gave the king no less than 300 marks for the privilege of retaining all their temporalities, except escheats and the patronage of their churches, in their own possession for one year. M. Paris, p. 410. Richard earl of Cornwall reproached his brother, with this very thing, observing to him, that, notwithstanding the great influx of money into the treasury from these casualties, yet he had such a strange way of squandering it, that he was not at all the richer for it. Idem, pp. 445, 467, where he makes the same observation to Otto the legate. But the worst was, he and his servants were given to plundering upon these occasions. See below, 1248.

bishop Grosseteste, Cantelupe bishop of Worcester, and Equeblanc bishop of Hereford, went to Reading to expostulate with the king on his behalf, and to try to moderate his fury. But the king, hearing of their coming, avoided them, by leaving the place; and when at last they obtained an audience (*a*), he was full of excuses intermixed with hatred and bitterness, inso-much that their intercession did not avail (*b*). These mediators, it is said, reprimanded the king smartly for his persecution and tyranny towards *De Raleigh*, threatening to put the chapel royal under an interdict; and that the king desired his answer might be postponed till such time as his agents should return from the court of Rome, not in the least doubting but they, with their money, would accomplish every thing he desired (*c*). The bishops consented to that request, and *De Raleigh* no sooner heard of their lukewarmness in the business, as he construed it, but he embarked on the Thames for France, and settled at Abbeville (*d*). Foreigners loaded the king with reproaches on *De Raleigh*'s account (*e*), and even Boniface, who was now elect of Canterbury, wrote William a consolatory letter; he wrote at the same time to the king in his favour, at the request of some of the suffragans of the province of Canterbury, who probably were Grosseteste, Cantelupe, and Equeblanc; he wrote also to Equeblanc in particular, as most intimate with the king, exhorting him to labour for a reconciliation (*f*).

(*a*) At Westminster, I presume. M. Paris, p. 616.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 614.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 617.

(*d*) Ibid. The mayor of Abbeville was ordered to have his *Posse* in readiness to protect him, in case he was pursued.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 617.

(*f*) Ibid.

After

After dwelling so long on this tedious business, which yet I have dispatched with all possible brevity, it may be proper to add one word on the conclusion of it. The pope interested himself at last, in 1244, William presenting him with 8000 marks. He wrote accordingly a very pressing letter to the king, asserting his own unlimited power in the case, and superadding a menace, with a declaration of his purpose to aggrandize the authority of the holy see (*a*). He wrote also to the queen, pretending to be her relation (which yet, as M. Paris observes, nobody could make out (*b*)); and to the archbishop elect, and the bishops of Worcester and Hereford (*c*). Bishop Grosseteste, at the same time, ever studious to promote the church's peace, was extremely desirous the pontif's letter to the king should have the due effect, and he accordingly dictated an epistle to Boniface to entreat him to use his interest with his niece the queen (*d*), and to cause her to prevail with the king's obstinacy to comply with the pope's mandate, for fear of the worst consequences (*e*); by which he meant, lest the kingdom should be involved in the like troubles which it had been overwhelmed with in the reign of his father king John. The extraordinary pains thus taken by his holiness, and De Ralegh's other friends, succeeded; for the king sent a friar (*f*) to *De Ralegh*, with articles and terms of accommodation, which were so far accepted by him, that the king acquiesced in his answers, and an entire reconciliation ensued to the joy of whole kingdom (*g*).

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 634.

(*b*) Idem, p. 635.

(*c*) Idem, Ibidem.

(*d*) Rapin, by mistake, calls Boniface the queen's brother, p. 314.

(*e*) Brown, p. 365.

(*f*) Hugo de Sancto Heuderio.

(*g*) M. Paris, p. 638. The king kept his Christmas at Winchester, A. 1246, when the bishop desired he would give a public mark of his friendship by dining with him; and the king accepted the invitation. M. Paris, p. 719. See also p. 472.

In the common course of things, appeals lay from the courts of suffragans to the superior court of the archbishop; and as bishop Grosseteste's diocese was so large and populous, he was perpetually vexed and harrassed with these appeals, which were often frivolous, and only lodged for the purpose of creating him trouble, and involving him in expence; he wrote, therefore, to Boniface, elect of Canterbury, about this time, to request his aid and assistance in this behalf, by giving as little countenance as possible to such litigious and troublesome appeals (*a*).

It was much about the same time that his lordship sent a circular letter to his archdeacons, stimulating them to be very strict in their enquiries concerning certain irregularities; priests either omitting the *canonical hours*, or saying them erroneously, very indevoutly, and at times very incommodious to their parishioners. Their keeping concubines or wives (*b*), which, though they were concealed from him in his visitations, ought not to escape the notice of the archdeacons. Clerks acting *miracles*, and other plays, called the *induction* of May and Autumn (*c*); laymen having *scot ales*; rectors, vicars, and other priests, neglecting to hear the friars preach, and even hindering the people from attending, and confessing to them; their suffering some to preach for the purpose of raising of money (*d*), who only treat such subjects as will draw most money from the people; whereas he licensed none such to preach, but only gave leave for the parish ministers to open and explain the service in few words; and,

(*a*) Brown, p. 382. See also p. 326.

(*b*) *Focarias*. See Mr. Brown ad locum. The glossaries have the verb *focare* in a wanton sense, but not the noun.

(*c*) See for these *miracles*, &c. Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry, p. 235, seqq.; Fitz-Stephen, p. 45; and the authors there referred to. Clerks were not only often concerned in them, but they were frequently acted in churches and church-yards.

(*d*) For the king's, or pope's use.

lastly,

lastly, Christians living as inmates with Jews (*a*).

It was about this time again, that the alien priory of the Cistercians at Scarborough had some complaints against the Franciscans there, and the bishop was impowered to hear and determine them. His officials sat two days, and himself personally the third, and then he wrote to the prior at Cistercium, desiring him to consider whether, as the friars had unreservedly submitted, he would not think proper to let their house stand and remain (*b*).

Ralph Nevil, bishop of Chichester, of whom some mention has been made before (*c*), departed this life Feb. 1, 1244, and thereupon the dean and canons, desirous of doing the king a favour, elected for his successor in that see Robert Passelewe his treasurer (*d*), and a person in principal esteem with him. Archbishop Boniface, for some reason, was greatly displeased with this choice, and, convening the bishops of the province, had him examined very closely and strictly, on certain difficult and knotty questions, by bishop Grosseteste (*e*).

I am very far from justifying the promotion of an illiterate or unfitting person into the episcopal order; but I must say, there was nothing but spite and malevolence in the present case; for, as the ecclesiastics in those ages commonly sat at the receipt of the treasury, so they were frequently adopted thence into the order of prelates (*f*). Too much of the same malignancy is also implied in the method of treating the treasurer; for what oc-

(*a*) Brown, p. 382. As to the last article, see Langton's Constitutions, A. 1222, art. 51.

(*b*) Brown, p. 383.

(*c*) See on the year 1234.

(*d*) Qui in thesauris regis custodiendis et augendis totus versatus est. M. Parker, p. 267.

(*e*) M. Parker, p. 267. Annal. Waverl. p. 205.

(*f*) See John Philipot's Catalogue of the Treasurers, passim.

caſion was there to oppoſe him in the nice and thorny points of divinity? Some, perhaps, may wonder that the biſhop of Lincoln would be a tool of the archbiſhop in ſuch a partial and unfair proceeding; but it ſhould be conſidered, that the biſhop was a moſt rigid diſciplinarian, and even thought it a point of duty to proceed with the utmoſt caution in theſe matters(*a*), which is ſufficient to exculpate him. As for the archbiſhop, he certainly was the moſt improper man in the world to object to an elect, on the pretence of deficiency in learning, for he had but a ſmall ſhare himſelf, having nothing elſe to recommend him, as is particularly noted(*b*), but his noble deſcent, and a fine perſon. Beſides, he was moſt ungrateful in this act towards the king, by whoſe ſole intereſt and ſolicitation he had been lately made archbiſhop, and was not yet conſecrated. But it ſeems the rejection of Robert Paſſelewe was not the act of Boniface and Groſſeteſte alone, but of the ſuffragans of the province; and it proceeded from a falſe notion they had, of its being their intereſt to leſſen the power of the Crown in theſe matters. The event was, that Boniface annulled the election, and by a moſt unwarrantable and diſobliging act, ſubſtituted by his own authority, in direct oppoſition to the king, and without ever conſulting him, one Richard de Witte, in his place. And Martin, the pope's nuncio(*c*), being there preſent, and ever ready to ſnatch an opportunity of turning a penny, interpoſed in the broil, and without more ado gave out a bull, as he had blank inſtruments always ready ſealed, to put Richard in poſſeſſion of the revenues of the ſee.

(*a*) See above, A. 1239, 1240.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 555. Boniface was more a martial, than a literary man; though the king endeavoured to extol his *ſcience*. He did not at all reſemble his predeceſſor St. Edmund.

(*c*) Laur. de St. Martin, the Pope's kinfman. Dugd. Bar. l. p. 444.

We are here concerned with a person who had the reputation of sanctity, at least in the eye of the church of Rome; and therefore one would proceed with all imaginable caution and tenderness in respect to his character; but certainly Richard's coming under the wing of this violent archbishop, and accepting his promotion by an act so irregular and outrageous, carry so bad an aspect, that they must prejudice the most candid and impartial against him, and greatly lower their opinion of the *holiness* of the man. However, as bishop Grosseteste was no further concerned, I desist from prosecuting his affairs.

Some scholars at Oxford committed a robbery upon the Jews dwelling in the Jewry there, February 2 (*a*); and 45 clerks concerned in this outrage were sent to prison; but bishop Grosseteste applying to the king in their behalf, and representing to him that they were not charged with breaking the king's peace, or any other high crime (*b*), his majesty ordered them to be set at liberty. Others say, that, after the bishop had taken these delinquents into his protection, meaning to proceed against them canonically, and grew weary of the business, he obtained the king's leave, April 15, that they might be delivered to the abbot of Osney, the prior of St. Frideswide, and Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, for them to take cognizance of the affair (*c*). Whichever of these narratives may be true, the bishop still shewed himself a patron of the academics; who, as it is thought, were much injured in this business.

The bishop did now again visit the archdeaconry of Oxford, and from *Dorchester*, 13 kal. October, 1244, granted a chapel to *Roger de Hida* within his mansion-house in the parish of *Whit-*

(*a*) T. Wikes says March 25.

(*b*) Particularly no felony in the case. T. Wikes.

(*c*) Wood, Hist. p. 93. Chron. T. Wikes, p. 45.

church, co. Oxon (a). It was not unfrequent in those times, for private persons to enjoy private domestic chapels; these were not consecrated, nor endowed; and care was always taken in the grants to provide for the rights of the mother church, and that no prejudice should accrue to them, by enjoining the grantees to have recourse to their parish church on the greater festivals, there to make their offerings, and receive the sacraments. Thus Roger Brito, knight, of Walton, in the parish of Chesterfield, co. Derby, was impowered to have a chauntry in his chapel for one month after Easter (this term was afterwards enlarged), and was to find a competent chaplain, at his own expence, to celebrate *mass only* to himself, his wife, and his visitors, promising, 'Die autem parasceves et in die pasch' cum oblationibus et aliis pertinentibus matricem ecclesiam nostram de Cestrefield visitabimus, et confessiones et sacramenta ecclesie de capellanis de Cestrefield recipiemus. Dictus et capellanus de Waleton inspectis sacrosanctis (b) coram capellanis et parochianis de Cestrefield jurabit quod de omnibus obventionibus et oblationibus quæ fiunt interim apud Waleton per quemcunque et undecunque evenerint dictis capellanis omni cavillatione remota respondebit, &c. (c).'

Roger obtained this privilege from the dean of Lincoln, William de Tournay, rector of Chesterfield, anno 1224, without fee or reward; but in the year 1242 he procured the privileges of his chapel to be enlarged, both as to the duties therein to be performed, and the time, which was to be unlimited, and for those extraordinary advantages he gave an acre of land to the

(a) Kennet. Par. Ant. p. 233.

(b) i. e. Scripturis. So in another instrument of a date but little later, 'Sacramentum tactis sacrosanctis solemniter prestabit.'

(c) Dean of Lincoln's chartulary at Lincoln.

church of Chesterfield, and confirmed the donations of his ancestors to the said church, amounting to many acres (*d*). I presume these privileges were not usually granted without some valuable consideration.

King Henry had involved himself in much debt by his late voyage into Gascoigne, and demanded a subsidy to be relieved from it. The prelates withdrew to consider of it, and sent to the barons to know whether they would be governed by their resolutions, and they answered, 'they would do nothing without the consent of all.' Upon which, a select committee, consisting of lords spiritual and temporal, to the number of twelve, of which bishop Grosseteste was one, was appointed, whose determination was to be proposed to the rest. The king, upon this, wearied them with delays, and at last, hoping thereby to gain and prevail on the spiritual lords, produced the pope's letter to them, exhorting them to comply with his own request. The prelates deferred their answer to these letters to a distant day; but, after the barons were departed, the king pressed the ecclesiastics to assemble the next day, which they did, and he sent his friends to obtain their benevolence, if not for his own, yet for the pope's sake. And while the matter was in agitation, the king himself came in upon them, unattended, and said, with an oath, that 'their honour should be his honour,' and *vice versa*; and then repeated his request and petition to them. They answered coolly, 'they would consider of the matter;' upon which he left the place under some confusion. When the prelates took the matter into consideration, and some inclined to think the clergy ought to be more condescending towards the king than the laity, the bishop of Lincoln answered with this theological quotation, 'Let us not dissent from the general opi-

(*d*) Dean of Lincoln's chartulary at Lincoln.

nion, for it is written, *if we are divided, we shall all immediately die*; and so the matter was postponed till the day before appointed. The king's intention then was, to attack the prelates separately, by an usual artifice practised by the popes; and, therefore, returning to them, he desired them to stay another day; but many of the prelates, aware of the snare laid for them, left the town early the next morning; and thus, to the king's great vexation, the assembly was dissolved (*a*).

His lordship's observation, that the disunion of the interests of the clergy and laity would be hurtful and impolitic, was certainly very sensible, judicious, and patriotic; and I am of opinion, that if he were among the number of those who staid in town, he would have been the last man whom the king's servants would ever have thought of tampering with singly and apart; for, when Groffeteste had once spoken his determined resolution, it was not either in the king's power, or in that of the pope, to cause him easily to depart from it. He was a man of more steadiness than Alan de Beccles (*b*), who was governed in the case by certain secular views.

The bishop, as Stowe has it, 'with other prelates, complained to the king of waste made of the church goods, by aliant bishops and clearkes of this land, whereupon they were shortly voided (*c*).' He alludes to those representations which we read in Matthew Paris, though our bishop was not particularly concerned in them, and the king's letter thereupon to the pope (*d*). The ground of complaint was the Papal provisions, which, however, were not suppressed at this time (*e*).

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 639, seq.

(*b*) Idem, p. 536.

(*c*) Stowe, p. 186.

(*d*) M. Paris, p. 622, seq.

(*e*) See below, under the year 1246.

The

The king's becoming a third party, by means of that frivolous paper abovementioned, in the bishop's contest with his canons, not only embarrassed the cause, but retarded the decision, and inflamed the expences. The particulars of the royal manœuvres in the case are not known, except that at the requisition of the canons, he inhibited all process in an ecclesiastical way, and brought the matter before his own court (*a*). However, about three years after his intromission, the bishop, wearied with the reiterated delays, found himself in prudence obliged to go to Lyons, where the pope then was, in order to prosecute his cause himself. He set out the 18th of November, 1244 (*b*), (after writing a very pressing and circular letter to his archdeacons, charging their consciences with taking a superabundant care of the diocese in his absence (*c*)), and found the dean and canons already there (*d*). These suitors continued at Lyons some time, Innocent IV. having summoned a general council to meet at that city in 1245. But before the council sat (*e*), which began the 8th of June, his holiness consecrated Roger de Weseham, the dean, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and Richard Wihtz, bishop of Chichester. The case of Roger, in brief was, William de Monte Pessulano (*f*), had been elected bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, but the king refused his assent, and opposed his confirmation with all his might at the court of Lyons (*g*): when William, tired out with the unmerited persecution, both in regard to himself and his friends, the monks

(*a*) Brown, p. 371.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 649.

(*c*) Brown, p. 386.

(*d*) Annal Dunstap. p. 267.

(*e*) M. Paris says, Richard de Wihtz was consecrated bishop of Chichester at the same time; and the Annals of Waverley testify, p. 206, that this was done about Lent.

(*f*) Montpelier.

(*g*) Memoirs of Roger de Weseham, p. 16. Henry, at this juncture, was sure to be well treated there, he and his holiness now going hand in hand.

of Coventry being grievously harraſſed upon his account, yielded up his pretenſions, and without any ſolicitation, into the hands of his holineſs. Groſſeteſte and De Weſeham were both upon the place; and William's reſignation had no ſooner tranſpired, but Groſſeteſte began to beſtir himſelf, and to recommend his principal favourite, De Weſeham, to the pontiff for the vacant prelacy; and by his ſole means and intereſt De Weſeham obtained the biſhopric by collation, the king being not in the leaſt conſulted for his conſent (*a*), leſt, as ſays my author, he ſhould both be raiſing cavils againſt this promotion, according to his cuſtom (*b*), and ſhould further oppoſe the election of a prelate to this now long vacant ſee, to the detriment of his credit and reputation, and the good of his ſoul (*c*).

‘ But here let us ſtop a moment and reflect. This was a
 ‘ moſt insolent and audacious act in the Roman pontiff; a mani-
 ‘ feſt and inſufferable encroachment on the king's prerogative,
 ‘ and the rights of the chapters of Lichfield and Coventry; for
 ‘ though the kings of England were now ſtripped of the inveſti-
 ‘ ture of their biſhops, and their popes, by continued artifices,
 ‘ had converted the right of nomination, formerly inherent in
 ‘ them, into capitular elections, yet the privilege of *approving*
 ‘ and *aſſenting* continued to be an undoubted prerogative of the
 ‘ crown (*d*). No ſovereign, either of this or any other coun-
 ‘ try, could ever fit down with leſs than this; for, if prelates

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 661. The king's proctor proteſted vigorously againſt it. See Memoirs of Roger de Weſeham, p. 21.

(*b*) M. Weſtmiſter, p. 310. M. Paris, p. 661.

(*c*) He alludes to the king's late hard treatment of William de Monte Peſſulano, and other like actions of his. And yet Leland ſays, De Weſeham had the biſhoprick from the king. Leland in Tanner, where ſee the biſhop's note. And he has led Mr. Wood into the ſame error. Hiſt. & Antiq. Ox. I. p. 71.

(*d*) See Dr. Blackſtone's Introduction to Magna Charta, p. x.

‘ were

‘ were to be imposed upon them against both their inclination
 ‘ and approbation, it might often happen, especially in these
 ‘ turbulent times, that the sees would be filled by those who
 ‘ were professedly the king’s enemies and the disturbers of the
 ‘ public peace, and the *regale* consequently would be reduced to
 ‘ nothing. But, nevertheless, this step is little to be wondered at
 ‘ in a person of Innocent’s character, who was one of the most
 ‘ rapacious wolves that ever filled the holy chair (*a*). And,
 ‘ indeed, this outrage upon the king, great as it was, was but
 ‘ similar to that of his predecessor of the same name, in the
 ‘ affair of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury (*b*), and
 ‘ that pope’s other dealings with king John (*c*); and, I may
 ‘ add, was no more than equal to the act of Gregory IX, when,
 ‘ by his own authority he conferred the see of Canterbury on
 ‘ archbishop Richard (*d*).

‘ *Sho* But this violent and illegal step was no more than might
 ‘ be expected from Innocent IV.’ Is it not strange bishop
 Grosseteste should so warmly promote it; and that dean *De*
Weseham should concur in it? I protest, I do not know how to
 exculpate my two friends on this occasion :

‘ ——— pudet hæc opprobria nobis,

‘ Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli (*e*).’

Besides, the insult on the rights of the two chapters of Lich-
 field and Coventry was as scandalous as that on the prerogative
 royal. The law and custom now was, that elections should be

(*a*) *Vaserrimus ille et inextinguibilis Anglicani Thesauri Helluo*. M. Parker, p. 281.
 M. Paris, p. 896.

(*b*) Life of Stephen Langton, in M. Parker, where the pope sets aside an elect
 canonically chosen, and approved by the king.

(*c*) Rapin’s History in that reign. Dr. Inett, Orig. Angl. tom. II.

(*d*) Rapin, vol. I. p. 303.

(*e*) Memoirs of Roger de Weseham, p. 18, seq.

free, and that the chapters of the respective churches should chuse their own prelates; but Innocent, and our two bishops in conjunction, disdainfully trampled this privilege under their feet. Innocent III. caused a handful of the monks of Canterbury, who were then with him at Rome, to elect *Stephen Langton* for their archbishop, but Innocent IV. troubled not himself about any such formality, but arbitrarily, and in the plenitude of his assumed power, consecrated *De Weseham* at Lyons at once, and without delay. That I may observe this by the way, all the Papal *provisions* in time-coming, which in a manner were infinite, and at last became such a general and hateful grievance, were no better than depredations of the same kind with this we are here speaking of, on the sacred rights both of our kings, and their respective chapters.

Another incident happened at Lyons, wherein, as I fear, these two great men, Groffeteite and De Weseham, do not stand perfectly clear. It is my duty, nevertheless, to report it. When the pope first came to that city to hold the council, his wardrobe was consumed, with all its contents. It was suggested by some, that the room was set on fire on purpose, to afford his holiness a pretence for asking a subsidy from the prelates that were to assemble at the council. But be this as it will, the conflagration extended further than was expected or intended, and destroyed, as was asserted by many, that instrument whereby king John made his kingdom tributary to the pope (a). What did Innocent do, in remedy of this unforeseen evil? He caused the English prelates that were present at the council, to sign a new act of the same kind, and I suspect the two friends, bishop Groffeteite and bishop de Weseham, both

(a) M. Paris, p. 658.

of them so lately obliged by his holiness, and in a way so extraordinary, could not be dispensed with from subscribing their names. ‘Misit igitur [Papa] ad singulos episcopos *Angliæ* præcipiens districtissime, ut *quilibet eorum* illi chartæ detestabili, qui lachrymabilis memoriæ rex *Anglorum* *Jobannes*, reclamante archiepiscopo Cantuariensi *Stephano*, infeliciter confecit *de tributo*, *signum apponeret*, ut magis roborata perpetuaretur (a). Quod ipsi episcopi *timore inexcusabiliter effeminati*, non sine enormi regis et regni, proh dolor! fecerunt prejudicio. Unde cum dominus rex hoc audisset, in maximam iram excandens, juravit, quod etsi etiam episcopi *turpiter* sint incurvati, ipse firmiter staret pro regni libertate; nec unquam, dum vitales carperet auras, censum sub nomine *tributi curiæ Romanæ* persolveret. Porro episcopus *Londinensis* *Fulco*, *ultimus*, et invitus, in arcum pravum versus, signum suum dictæ chartæ apponens, *minus aliis* meruit reprehendi. Et sic soluto concilio, &c. (b).’

‘It is plain this transaction passed at the very close of the council, and after bishop *De Weseham* was consecrated; and that not one of the *English* prelates refused their hands, *Fulco Basset* being the most reluctant, and the last that signed; and, therefore, I doubt our two prelates concurred with the rest in this blameable act, fraught with so much dishonour to the imperial crown and dignity of this realm (c). This, however,

(a) Here it is intimated that the original instrument was not burnt, but that this act was intended to strengthen and corroborate it.

(b) M. Paris, p. 681.

(c) The act of the prelates was the more flagrant and culpable, because the king’s ambassadors to the council actually complained that king John had been circumvented in that business by Innocent III, and strongly importuned the present pope to give them back that instrument. M. Paris, p. 666. See also the king’s instrument in Fox, p. 375. All that can be said in excuse of the prelates, is the

‘ ever, was not a fault peculiar to them, since they share it in
 ‘ common with other *English* prelates, who were unboundedly
 ‘ submissive to his holiness at this council (a).

‘ Now when the king came to be apprized of these consecrations
 ‘ at Lyons, he ordered the temporal profits of the two sees of Chī-
 ‘ chester (b) and Coventry to be paid into his treasury (c); but
 ‘ the next year, in April or May, according to M. Paris (d), he
 ‘ was moved by intreaty, and the interposition of friends, to re-
 ‘ store to De Weseham his barony, on account of the sweetness
 ‘ of his manners, which made him beloved by all (e).’

In the same year Groffeteste was joined in a commission by
 the pope, with the new bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and
 the bishops of Worcester, London, Winchester, and Norwich,
 ‘ about the adjusting and proportioning six thousand marks
 ‘ amongst their several sees, to be collected by way of subsidy for
 ‘ his use (f). This subsidy had been demanded for the pope
 ‘ of the English prelates at Lyons, before they set out on their re-
 ‘ turn home, and this bull attended them on their arrival (g);

unfurmoutable dread they all had, in these times, of the Papal thunder, the ter-
 rible sentence of excommunication, which was impending over their heads, and
 which, according to the notions of the age, it was not possible for mortals of any
 sort, or by any means, to withstand.

(a) Memoirs of Roger de Weseham, p. 19.

(b) Richard de Wihte, bishop of Chichester, was consecrated at the same time
 De Weseham was. He was chiefly promoted by the interest of that unworthy
 man, archbishop Boniface. Ought the Papist then to reproach the Reformation
 with the bad character of king Henry the Eighth? as Richard became a canonized
 saint.

(c) M. Paris, p. 661.

(d) M. Paris, p. 706. Willis and Wharton say January 1, 1245-6. 25 Mar.
 Pat. 36 Henry III. MS. Anstis, cited by Dr. Richardson ad Godwin, which I pre-
 sume may be the truth, and accords with Annal. Dunstap. p. 272.

(e) Eo quod esset vir benignissimus, et omnium haberet favorem. M. Paris,
 p. 706.

(f) It was what was called a *twentieth*. M. Paris, p. 717.

(g) This is another instance of the immoderate complaisance of the *English*
 bishops at this council.

‘ but

' but his holiness receiving no answer from these delegates, the
 ' king having expressly prohibited the payment of any such tal-
 ' lage, the office was afterwards imposed upon the bishops of
 ' Norwich and Winchester, in 1246 (a). The money was to be
 ' collected from the ecclesiastics and the religious, except the
 ' monks of the order of Clugny and Sempringham, the Templars
 ' and Hospitallers; and one pretence for this large exaction, no
 ' doubt, was the loss his holiness had sustained by the fire, as
 ' mentioned above. Our kings beforetime had been so weak,
 ' as to give the popes a yearly subsidy, under the name of *Peter-*
 ' *pence*; but after king John had resigned his crown into the
 ' hands of Innocent III. consenting to hold it of him, and to
 ' become his tributary, the popes began to think of levying
 ' money upon the clergy of England, by their own proper
 ' power, without the king's consent, and contrary to the cus-
 ' toms, rights, and liberties, of the church and kingdom (b).
 ' We have a notorious instance of this usurpation in the case be-
 ' fore us, which could not fail of proving of the most pern-
 ' cious consequence, since it would infallibly open a door for
 ' the most grievous extortions and oppressions in time to come.
 ' It is true, indeed, remonstrances were often made against such
 ' impositions, and the king protested against this in particular;
 ' but the efforts of opposition were so feebly made, that the
 ' popes generally found means to gain their ends (c). The
 clergy, in the present case, were under great perplexity, being
 threatened by both parties, the king and the pope; but at last,
 well knowing the king's inconstancy, and that in the end he

(a) M. Paris, p. 707, 715. The bishops were afterwards quite ashamed of this business, p. 719.

(b) Idem, p. 698.

(c) Memoirs of Roger de Weseham, p. 31, seq. and see Brown, p. 415, seq.

would certainly yield to the pope, as he had often done before in the like exigencies, they many of them by a private and clandestine payment of their *quota*, endeavoured to avoid the indignation of both (a).

‘ It was at this time that bishop Grosseteste separated the church
‘ or rectory of *Aylesbury* from the deanery of Lincoln, esteeming
‘ that dignity with this great prebend annexed to be too richly
‘ endowed, and to occasion the deans to have it too much in their
‘ power to oppose and confront the bishop of that see. But here
‘ it should be remembered, in order to obtain a true idea of the
‘ opulency of this prebend, that it consisted at this time both of the
‘ present prebend of *Aylesbury* and that of *Milton-Ecclesia*, as like-
‘ wise of the four chapels of *Burton*, *Querendon*, *Stokes*, and *Buck-*
‘ *land*, which were all severed from it, and appropriated to the
‘ dean and chapter in common (b). His lordship apprehended
‘ no disturbance from his fast friend Roger de Weseham; and
‘ therefore in the year 1239, when he succeeded to the decanal
‘ dignity, he permitted him to enjoy this vast prebend, as the
‘ deans his predecessors had usually done; but he laid hold of
‘ the present opportunity of making an alteration, and conferred
‘ the prebend on Robert de Marisco (c); to the great prejudice
‘ and injury of his church, as was then thought (d), but, surely,
‘ without any valid reason (e).’

(a) See below on 1246.

(b) Willis, vol. II. p. 219.

(c) This name I have seen from M. Paris, and it appears from an instrument in Anth. a Wood, that de Marisco was a canon of the church, Hist. & Antiq. vol. I. p. 94. but Dr. Willis, I observe, delivers, that *William de Shirewood* was the first person who enjoyed the prebend of *Aylesbury* after it was separated from the deanery, Willis, vol. II. p. 132, and consequently omits *Robert de Marisco* entirely. The ground of this mistake is noted in the Memoirs of *Roger de Weseham*, p. 23, seq. but needs not be repeated here.

(d) Non sine magno et multo ecclesiæ suæ prejudicio, ut multis videbatur, et injuria. M. Paris, p. 661.

(e) Memoirs of Roger de Weseham, p. 22, seq. Kennet on Improvements, pp. 39, 69.

To add a word here concerning *Robert de Marisco*, without entering too minutely into his affairs; he was a canonist of great repute, and a prime favourite with bishop Grosseteste (*a*), who made him archdeacon of Oxford (*b*), his official (*c*), and at last the depositary of his entire prelatical jurisdiction (*d*). At length Robert became dean of Lincoln, but not till after the death of his patron Grosseteste, viz. in 1258 (*e*), and I think it probable that he died in the beginning of the year 1263 (*f*).

‘ From this step of bishop Grosseteste, in alienating the prebend
 ‘ of Aylebury from the deanery, some have imagined, that Ro-
 ‘ ger de Weseham, the short time he was dean (*g*), had occasioned
 ‘ the bishop some trouble by his untoward and mutinous beha-
 ‘ viour; and that the opposition the bishop had met with from
 ‘ him, was the motive and inducement for his procuring him
 ‘ the see of Coventry, and thereby removing him, as it were,
 ‘ out of the way. This is openly asserted by Mr. Wharton, who
 ‘ writes from M. Paris, ‘ *Id a Roberto episcopo factum est vafro*
 ‘ *confilio, ut ecclesiam Ailesburiensem a decanatu Lincolnensi jam*
 ‘ *vacante subtraheret. Decanos enim sibi jam die recalcitrantes*

(*a*) Annal. Burton, p. 398, by the bishop's order he collected a Summary of the Privileges of the Clergy according to the Canons; an employment undoubtedly devolved upon him by the bishop, on account of his great skill in the canon law. This was about 1236. Compare Annal. Burton, p. 397 with p. 287. See below, An. 1350.

(*b*) This was a post of great importance then. See above, p. 47. Wood's Hist. pp. 94, 106. Willis omits him. He is the archdeacon mentioned in 1240, in Annal. Dunstap. p. 247.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 802. Wood's Hist. and Antiq. p. 94.

(*d*) M. Paris, Ibid.

(*e*) Wharton, A. S. I. 440.

(*f*) So Willis, p. 76, but Monast. III. p. 271 has 1260.

(*g*) He was dean in 1262. Annal. Burton, p. 446. Willis says he knew not how long he held the deanery, but he probably died the end of that, or the beginning of 1263, as William de Lexington was in the post in 1263.

‘ *expertus,*

‘expertus, eorum insolentiam, dempta ubertate nimia, refecare
 ‘voluit.’ Bishop Godwin softens the matter something in his
 ‘representation; for he only says, ‘In hoc negotium *eo studiosius*
 ‘*Lincolniensis* incubuit, quod cum consueffent sæpe decani—ex
 ‘decanatûs illius ubertate—contra episcopum suum recalcitrare,
 ‘vacanti jam decanatu decreviffet rectoriam *Aylesburiensem sub-*
 ‘*trahere.*’ As if this was a joint motive. But this perhaps is
 ‘faying too much. That bishop Groffeteste dismembered the
 ‘prebend from the deanery at this time, embracing this oppor-
 ‘tunity of exerting an undoubted right, is certain; but that this
 ‘was his motive for recommending the dean to the pope for
 ‘the fee of Coventry, or that he had found any ungrateful re-
 ‘turns from the dean, or any disobliging carriage in him, is by
 ‘no means apparent, neither do Matthew’s words imply either
 ‘of these two things. They are these, ‘Episcopus igitur Lin-
 ‘colniensis, suum in hac parte consequutus desiderium, ecclesiam
 ‘de Aillesbiria, quam *ex multo tempore desideraverat* a decanatu
 ‘*Lincolniensi* (eo quod credebat decanum ex ejus ubertate cornua
 ‘audaciæ affumentem, contra episcopum *Lincolniensem* recalci-
 ‘trare) radicitus sequestrare et abalienare, statim et incontinenti
 ‘ipsam magistro *Roberto de Marisco* contulit, &c. (a).’ All that
 ‘can be collected from hence is, as I said, that the bishop took
 ‘this opportunity of doing it; he had been desirous of effecting
 ‘it *ex multo tempore*, I presume, from the time he first expe-
 ‘rienced the disobedience of William de Tournay; but Roger
 ‘de Weseham, being a person he could perfectly rely upon,
 ‘and one remarkable for the sweetness of his temper, to
 ‘say nothing of the load of obligations he had already heaped
 ‘upon him, he would not divide the preferment on his acces-

(a) M. Paris, p. 661.

‘fion,

' fion, but suffered the prebend and the deanery to go together
 ' to him as usual; but now that he could not tell who was likely
 ' to be appointed De Weseham's successor in the deanery, proba-
 ' bly one of the disaffected members of the turbulent chapter,
 ' the safest way, he thought, was, to part the two dignities. If
 ' we reflect, there were inducements sufficient for the bishop's
 ' exerting his interest with the pope in favour of De Weseham,
 ' without this low view, namely, that long intimacy and friend-
 ' ship that had subsisted betwixt De Weseham and himself, to-
 ' gether with the personal merits of the former, and his known
 ' good qualities; insomuch that it would be highly uncharitable
 ' and injurious to Grosseteste's great character, to impute his
 ' friendly interposition to any other cause, and at the same time
 ' almost absurd to surmise, that ever the dean, in the execution
 ' of his office, had given his lordship the least disgust or uneasi-
 ' ness, a conduct so foreign from his character, and so unnatural
 ' to him. It is true he had been installed during the contest be-
 ' twixt the bishop and the chapter, as before related; but it at
 ' no time appears that he ever took any part in it, the dean's
 ' name seldom occurring on the occasion, but only that of the
 ' canons; and as the quarrel began before his time, so it pro-
 ' ceeded without his intermeddling, till its final determination
 ' by the pope; and whereas, *pendente lite*, nothing could be done
 ' on either part, the dean had no cause or reason to take a side,
 ' or do any act that might disoblige or give offence to the dio-
 ' cesan, his indulgent and most munificent patron. It is true
 ' again, he went with the canons to Lyons about this business,
 ' as has been mentioned above, but that he was obliged to do *ex*
 ' *officio*, and consequently might do it, without giving any um-
 ' brage or offence to the bishop (a).

(a) Memoirs of Roger de Weseham, p. 28.

The bishop was at this juncture in the highest favour at the court of Lyons, and obtained from his holiness a bull, but not till after disbursing a prodigious sum (*a*), determining all matters in difference between him and the dean and canons. This instrument (*b*) gives us a perfect insight into the articles in dispute between the parties; and as I have before referred to them (*c*), I shall here insert them in their order, with the papal decision after each.

1. The bishop claimed to visit the dean and chapter, the prebendal churches, and the other churches of the dignitaries, and of the common estate; and that the dean, for the future, should not presume to visit them. This he claimed of common right, as a privilege or power inseparably annexed to his pastoral office, as bishop; and the pope was entirely with his lordship in this.

2. He claimed a right to reform and correct any irregularities of the dean and chapter, the clerks of the choir, and the other ministers or servants of the cathedral; as also of the vicars, chaplains, and parishioners, of all the said churches. This he claimed on the same ground, but his holiness only concurred in part, decreeing, that such irregularities of the canons as were wont to be corrected by the chapter, should be corrected by the chapter still, on the suggestion and monition of the bishop and his successors, and within a competent time to be fixed by

(*a*) Post multos labores, *et pecuniarum inæstimabilium effusiones*, hanc à domino Papa, quem cum multis donariis respexerat, contra canonicos suos meruit impetrationem obtinere. M. Paris, p. 688. Does it not seem to be, in part, a reward for his last odious compliances? However, see Brown, p. 388, where he mentions gaining his cause.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 689.

(*c*) See above, A. 1237.

them;

them; otherwise he and his successors might do it by ecclesiastical censure.

3. The bishop demanded, that canonical obedience should be sworn to him by the dean at his confirmation, and by the prebendaries on their collation. That the dean should not oblige any canon to swear canonical obedience to himself, without an exception or saving clause in favour of the episcopal dignity and authority. And, moreover, that he should not compel the prebendaries to swear to observe any customs contrary to the canons. His lordship taxed the dean and chapter with negligence and contempt in this behalf; and the pope decreed, that the canons should exhibit obedience and reverence to the bishop, but should not be obliged to swear; there being no precedent for this. This decision would include, no doubt, the latter clause of the bishop's seventh demand, about ringing the bells, &c.

4. His lordship exacted a right of deciding all causes relative to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, moved amongst themselves, by others against them, or by them against others (*a*). This privilege he claimed as ordinary.

5. He alledged, the chapter ought to have his licence for electing before they proceeded to the election of a dean. And this he insisted on as head of the church of Lincoln.

6. He claimed the sequestration of the deanery, the dignities, and the prebends, whenever they became vacant (*b*). This he

(*a*) So I understand this article, which is somewhat obscure in the copies of M. Paris. "*Causam etiam omnium prædictorum cum ad invicem eos movere, contingeret, vel ipsos contrarios tuæ diocesis, vel alii contra ipsos sive sint civiles sive criminales, examinare ac decidere ad te tanquam ad ordinarium proprie pertineat dum tamen ad ecclesiasticum spectant forum.*" Page 689.

(*b*) However, John de Scaldy says, in 1330, '*penes quos [decan. et cap.] proprietas jurisdictionis ordinariæ sede vacante de jure, et sede plena ipsius exercitium in ecclesia et ipsius præbendis ac ecclesiis de communa de introducta consuetudine pertinebat.*'

demanded *lege diocesana*; but it should be observed, that the bishop set up this claim, and the others, on the same footing, with this proviso, 'nisi sedis apostolicæ privilegio (*a*), vel alio 'jure speciali, tueri se possent [decanus et capitulum] super impedimentis et obstaculis supradictis.'

7. His lordship demanded procurations on visiting the dean and chapter, and costs of suit; as likewise that, when he should come to the cathedral, the bells should be rung, and reverence and respect shewn him as their spiritual father.

8. He proposed that the dean should not enact in future any statutes in the chapter contrary to the canons and the episcopal authority. The pope would not allow the bishop any procurations on visiting; and in the other articles above, the sentence was much in favour of the dean and chapter, that is, as I apprehend, they had either bulls of exemption respecting those cases, or the cases themselves were of such a nature, as the 8th for example, that they were otherwise provided for and guarded against.

This determination of the pope, so favourable, as to the main articles, to our bishop, and to all the bishops in England (*b*), was but ill received by the canons. He, after his return from abroad, and even before the end of the year (*c*), began a visitation of the prebends and prebendaries upon it (*d*). And whereas, in 1247, Thomas Wallensis, canon and archdeacon of Lincoln, was promoted to the see of St. David's, which was then very poor, one reason for his accepting was, according to M. Paris, because bishop Grosseteste had gotten the better of the dean and chapter (*e*). But, perhaps, this may be only the

(*a*) A bull, brief, or other instrument.

(*b*) This is bishop Grosseteste's own observation. Brown, p. 388.

(*c*) Thomas Wikes, p. 46.

(*d*) Ibidem.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 739.

author's surmise, who, as has been remarked, inclined to the side of the canons. However, these disputes of chapters with their diocesans had afterwards a very ill effect; the electing canons often obliging the person to be chosen bishop to swear, and even to be bound by bond and instrument, that he should never oppose them in any matter, how grievous or dishonest soever; and he should not punish them for any offence whatsoever (*a*).

While the prelates were at Lyons, some of them, with bishop Grosseteste at their head, endeavoured to get the *Cistercian* monasteries, which enjoyed great privileges, to be made subject to them; but in this they could not succeed, though they had been so condescending, so liberal of their favours to his holiness (*b*).

Bishop Grosseteste was no great friend to the monks (*c*); he looked upon this body of men to be lazy, ignorant, deficient in learning, vicious and immoral, negligent in observing the rules of their respective orders and institutions (*d*), and averse to the duty and exercise of preaching, on which he ever laid great stress, as the grand natural means of instructing the people and reforming their manners, and in which he was always himself very assiduous both before and after his consecration. The consequence was, that he was thought to be severe upon the religious houses; whence M. Paris, ushering in the affair of the

(*a*) Fox's Martyrology, II. p. 55.

(*b*) Walter Hemingford, p. 576.

(*c*) In this he seems to have trodden in the steps of his patron and predecessor, Hugh de Welles, and of his preceptor Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury. Hugh de Patishull was as ill affected towards the monks as any of those. Indeed, they were always flying in the face of the prelates, or encroaching upon them, by exemptions, appeals, appropriations of churches, &c.

(*d*) This is the very character Chaucer gives of his monk, p. 2, Edit. Urry.

Church of Lincoln abovementioned, begins thus ; ‘ *Lincolniensis quoque episcopus religiosorum in suâ diocesi factus est maleus, et immanis persecutor.*’ Nimirum in suos canonicos, &c. (a) for, though the instance there given respects only the bishop’s squabble with the dean and chapter of Lincoln, yet by *religiosi* we are to understand the regulars, or the monks, according to the usual acceptation of the word ; for, in another place, after specifying the attack which the bishop made on the members of his own church, he adds, ‘ *Idem insuper Robertus in religiosos terribiliter, et in religiosas terribilius consuevit fulgurare, zelum bonum habens, non forte secundum scientiam (b).*’ But, by what I can discover, all that his lordship aimed at in his transactions with the monks and nuns was only to keep them strictly to their rules ; not to insult, to oppress, or to suppress them, but by correcting such abuses as had crept in amongst them, which in truth were both numerous and scandalous, to recover them to their pristine discipline.

This was apparently the motive of his enquiries and visitations, of which, though they loudly complained, as is natural for those to do, who being criminal are loth to be animadverted upon, or be abridged in the use of their usual, though unwarrantable liberties, yet the bishop will be perfectly justified in respect of severity, in the opinion of all sober and thinking men. To this effect tended his *Epistola Monitoria ad Priorem et Conventum de Newenham (c)* ; as likewise did his *Epistola ad Conventum Missenden pro abbate eligendo (d)* ; and his *Prædicatio viris*

(a) M. Paris, p. 485 ; and see Brown, Fascic. pp. 343, 344, 382, where several monks are disgraced and punished.

(b) Idem, p. 880, and p. 772, he styles him *Religiosorum fatigator indefessus*.

(c) See List of his works in the inedited Miscellanies.

(d) Ibidem, in the edited Miscellanies. See also Brown, p. 344, where he presses the abbat of St. Benedict on the Leyr upon the same point.

religiosis,

religiosis, once extant in the old library at Peterborough (*a*). The bishop in his visitation forbade the monks to eat flesh any where but in the infirmary and abbat's chamber (*b*), but then this was no more but what was required by their rules and the constitution of Otho the legate (*c*). In short, he exacted a high degree of perfection in the professed, as appears from the character he has drawn of good monks in one of his epistles (*d*). And it is true again, that he held their rank in the church to be but low, inferior to clerks, and even subdeacons (*e*), though their condition and station of life was reputed to be honourable (*f*).

It is sufficiently clear that the bishop was not the enemy of the monks when they followed the rule of their respective orders (*g*), and that he ought not to be taxed with injustice or oppression for endeavouring to correct their vices and irregularities. It is clear again, that on account of their uselessness and insignificance, when compared with the friars, as likewise for their notorious immoralities, he did not favour them so much as he did the friars, though upon occasion he did not refuse his assent to Roise de Verdon, who was disposed to found the nunnery of Gracedieu in his time (*h*); as also to the appropriation of the church of Stapleford, in the county of Leicester, to the priory of Tutbury (*i*). Dr. Willis, therefore, has greatly

(*a*) Gunton, p. 215.

(*b*) R. Swapham, *Cœnob. Burg. Hist.* p. 110.

(*c*) Legatine Constitutions, 1237. Art. 19.

(*d*) Brown, p. 383, 'debet autem . . . perfectione.'

(*e*) Brown, p. 385, and see Fox's *Martyr.* II. p. 502.

(*f*) West's *Furness*, p. 83.

(*g*) He even stands up for them in respect to Papal oppression, p. 241.

(*h*) Burton's *Description of Leicestershire*, p. 119.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 265, where he *confirms* the former appropriation.

mistaken

mistaken the bishop's true character on this head, when he gives him the credit and reputation of being himself the founder of more religious houses than one. This also, on the face of the thing, and in every shape, is incredible; since, as he was a man of no patrimony, a person of great liberality, of boundless hospitality, and almost continually engaged in extensive struggles with one adversary or other, such profusion does but ill comport with any designs he should form of establishing religious foundations. However Dr. Willis tells us, very roundly, The bishop 'was eminent for his great abstinence, charity, 'piety, &c. and founded a little nunnery at Grimsby, and a 'priory for canons at Chetwoode in the county of Bucks;' but, had we no other instances or authorities for his lordship's charity and piety than these two foundations, I doubt we should be very deficient in supporting this shining part of his character: for, upon the strictest enquiry, I cannot find that he erected either of these religious houses. There was a Benedictine nunnery at Grimsby, dedicated to St. Leonard, which, as Mr. Speed tells us (who, I presume, was Dr. Willis's author), was founded by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, temp. Henry III. and Sir Thomas Hesterton, knight. The house was but small, being rated at the suppression, at no more than 9l. 14s. 7d., 10l., or at most 12l. 3s. 7d. (a). The church, cloister, dormitory, and the greatest part of the other buildings were burnt down; and therewith the vestments, books, goods, and chattels; as also the charters, writings, and muniments, concerning their lands, tenements, &c. as likewise their appropriate churches; whereupon king Henry IV. in his 7th year, confirmed all the grants and donations, whether of his ancestors,

(a) Tanner's Notitia, p. 274.

or of other private persons; and in this instrument of confirmation the house is said to be *De Fundatione progenitorum nostrorum, quondam regum Angliæ, et nostro patronatu existens, ut dicitur* (a). And that this house was indeed founded before bishop Grosseteste was in any capacity of creating such an establishment, is made very probable by bishop Tanner (b).

Chetwoode was a priory of regular canons of St. Austin in Buckinghamshire, founded in 1244, by Ralph de Norwich (c), though afterwards, it seems, it came into the patronage of the crown, as if some one of our kings became a principal benefactor, so as to be esteemed the founder (d). The consent of the diocesan was necessary for the foundation; and Grosseteste being then sitting at Lincoln, application was made to him for licence, which he readily granted in the 10th of his pontificate (e). Dr. Willis seems to have misunderstood the purport of this licence, taking it to be the instrument of foundation, and that the bishop thereby founded the priory himself; whereas it is only a common grant of liberty for Ralph de Norwich to found his intended house. One can imagine no other cause of mistake but this, because Mr. Speed, who places the priory in Staffordshire, mentions not our bishop at all. The instrument begins with these remarkable words; ‘*Cupientes religionem et cultum divinum tam locis et corporibus* (f), *quam incremento devotionis et fidei ampliari:*’ shewing, that his lordship did not regard the religious orders and their foundations with an

(a) Dugd. Mon. II. p. 898.

(b) Tanner, ibidem.

(c) Tanner's Notitia, p. 31.

(d) See Bishop Tanner's Notitia.

(e) Dugd. Mon. II. 339, in marg. where the instrument occurs, p. 339, copied from the Bishop's Register.

(f) He means *Bodies corporate*.

evil eye, was no professed enemy of the monastic state, but only intended in his dealings with his monasteries, whatever report and misrepresentation might suggest to the contrary, to reform their abuses.

That despicable opinion which the bishop entertained of the monks in general, as stated above, carried him with all facility to patronize and caress the friars in preference to them. *John de St. Ægidio*, a Dominican, and *Adam de Marisco*, a Franciscan, were two of his intimates; and when he made his visitatorial progress, in 1236, he had two friars with him to preach to the people, if he himself did not discharge the office; and four friars were afterwards employed in hearing confessions and enjoining penances; and it is suggested, that the strict visitations made by his lordship in the diocese proceeded from the advice and counsel of the friars (*a*). In brief, he had an exalted opinion of the vow of poverty, or of possessing nothing, made by the friars, which he regarded not only as meritorious in itself, but as the instrument of much good, since it effectually opens the mouths of these distinguished men to speak their minds freely, boldly to rebuke vice, and to censure the misconduct and irregularities of the grandees of the nation (*b*).

The monks and friars did not love one another (*c*). The power which the pope had given the friars of becoming confessors (*d*) was very disgusting to the former, and the cause,

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 716. See also p. 877.

(*b*) See Brown, Fascic. II. p. 403.

(*c*) M. Parker, pp. 236, 273. The friars were as little beloved by the secular clergy. M. Paris, p. 693, seq. M. Paris can scarcely keep his temper when speaking of the friars in their best days. See pp. 419, 612. What would he have said had he lived to see them after their degeneracy? See him, pp. 612, 967, 970, and Chron. Petrib. p. 102. Ann. Dunstap. pp. 216, 341.

(*d*) Rapin, p. 353, which was directly against a canon of the 4th Lateran council, and created much disturbance. Fox's Martyrology, I. pp. 535, 538.

consequently, of much jealousy and discontent (*a*), insomuch, that the monks were continually attacking the friars in their writings, and almost as constantly complaining of the multiplication of religious orders to the prejudice and disparagement of the old establishments (*b*), and as directly contrary to a late canon (*c*). And thus a prelate, who so cordially espoused and befriended the friars, and so openly, as Grosseteste did, could not either much esteem the monks, or be esteemed by them; whereupon I may justly make the observation, that nothing can possibly redound more to the honour of bishop Grosseteste than those frequent and noble eulogiums bestowed upon him by Matthew Paris, since, as this author was a monk, nothing but truth, publicly known and acknowledged, could ever have extorted them from him. So strongly attached and biased as he was to the cause of monkery, Matthew, in spite of all the complaints he had to make against the bishop on the topic of his oppressions, as he esteemed them, committed upon the monasteries and nunneries, and even on the dean and chapter of Lincoln, cannot refuse him the highest encomiums, and the amplest testimonies, in regard to his learning, integrity, and piety, which could never have happened, had they not been most indisputable, most conspicuous, and brilliant.

I shall enter no farther into the conduct of the monks and friars, than just to remark, in behalf of the latter, that they not only came to England invested with high powers (*d*), and

(*a*) See M. Paris, pp. 402, 565.

(*b*) See hereafter. Du Pin, 13th cent. p. 165, seq.

(*c*) Concil. Lateran. in 1215. So great was the weakness and folly of the infallible pontiffs as to confirm an order at the close of one century, and to dissolve it at the beginning of the next. See the memoir on Sac-Friars in Archæol. Soc. Antiq. London, tom. III. p. 125.

(*d*) This was one source of their odium in respect of the monks. M. Parker, p. 253. See above, p. 43, 44.

profuse commendations, but their orders being new, both the Dominicans and Franciscans shewed themselves most punctual observers of their rules (*a*), as is natural for those to do, who are the first professors of a recent institution, which otherwise can never be advanced, so as to gain any great footing in the world. They applied themselves moreover to study with indefatigable diligence, and in a short time became very eminent for their learning, not to say some of the brightest ornaments of the age. These shining qualities recommended the brethren very powerfully to the notice and good opinion, the countenance and friendship, of all lovers and patrons of learning (*b*); and very deservedly at this time, whatever might be the case afterwards, when they had deviated from the strictness of their rules (*c*), were made the tools of the Papacy, and, grown equally ignorant with the most lazy and idle of the monks, or even more so, were become, and more especially towards the dawn of the Reformation, the very scorn and contempt of all men. We ought therefore to distinguish periods, in forming a true judgement concerning the character, the merit or demerit, of the mendicant orders. The friars, in their golden age, and for some time after their first institution, were possessed of a great share of worth and learning (*d*), so as to excite the envy and jealousy of their monkish rivals; but, in process of time, they degenerated into meer ignorant vagrants (*e*), or into low and contemptible agents for the court of Rome (*f*). These

(*a*) See Hearne's Appendix to Thomas Otterbourne, p. xcv.

(*b*) M. Paris, pp. 869, 879. Archbishop Langton. Wood, p. 62. Bishop Groffeteste. Walter Maucclerk. Wood, p. 63, Ralph Maidstone, p. 70.

(*c*) Which they very soon did. M. Paris, p. 612. Chaucer, p. 3.

(*d*) This is acknowledged even by M. Paris, p. 222, 805.

(*e*) See John Leland's account of the condition of the Franciscan Library at Oxford in his time. Tanner's Biblioth. p. 351.

(*f*) M. Paris, pp. 402, 518, 565.

two periods ought carefully to be distinguished, in order to prevent our running into mistakes in relation to the friars.

Bishop Grosseteste had accordingly a very high opinion of the friars at their first appearance here (*a*); for, in one of his letters to Agnellus Pisanus, he terms the friars, at Oxford, *Sanctum Agnelli Collegium* (*b*). And Nic. Trivet says of the bishop, ‘Hic fratres ordinis, tam prædicatorum, quam minorum, sincerâ charitate amplectens, eos habuit continuè in comitivâ suâ (*c*), delitias computans cum eis de scripturis conferre (*d*).’ Nay, M. Paris intimates in one place, that his lordship had thoughts of entering the Franciscan order himself (*e*). The friars, however, at this time, could converse with him on other subjects as well as Divinity and the Scriptures; *De St. Giles* being eminent for his skill in physick, and *Adam de Marisco* excellently well learned in philosophy and the mathematicks. And it is certain, that though M. Paris, and others, much disapproved of the erection and institution of the mendicant orders, yet one good effect sprung from it, which was, that the monks, both Cistercians and Benedictines, were forced, in their own defence, to betake themselves to their studies, and in reality did so (*f*).

The bishop, after his return from Lyons, made a strict visitation of his diocese, and, as insinuated, at the suggestion of the

(*a*) And so had archbishop Langton, Wood, p. 62, and even some abbats turned friars. M. Paris, p. 574.

(*b*) Wood’s Hist. I. p. 72.

(*c*) In his retinue. Vide omnino Brown, pp. 334, 389, both for Dominicans and Franciscans. The word occurs in Warton’s History of English Poetry, p. 116. See also Du Fresne.

(*d*) Nic. Trivet, p. 205.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 722. See before in 1232.

(*f*) M. Paris, pp. 806, 767, 916.

two orders of friars, and it is certain they stood high in his confidence and esteem. However, he caused the archdeacons and rural deans to scrutinize closely into the chastity and good morals of all orders of people, from the highest to the lowest; and an inquisition so rigid and severe made many discoveries, to the reproach and defaming of many; and, as it was an unusual proceeding, gave great offence. Complaint was even made to the king, and he, by the advice of his council, wrote to the sheriff of Hertfordshire, part of which county was in the diocese of Lincoln, not to suffer any laymen of his district hereafter to assemble at the pleasure of the archdeacons of that diocese, their officials, or deans, for the purpose of making enquiry by oath, or otherwise, concerning any matters, but causes matrimonial or testamentary. When the subject of this precept was related to the bishop, he observed, that the king was following the example of certain conspirators in France (*a*), who had been guilty of the like rashness (*b*). The king, however, was well advised in this, since nothing could be more unreasonable or tyrannical than to oblige people to accuse themselves, or one another, upon oath, let the bishop think as he pleased (*c*).

His lordship began his visitation with the archdeaconry of Stow, and thence, on Monday after the Purification, proceeded to the cathedral, which gave some offence to the dean and chapter, the bishop having before declared that he should begin with them; but the alteration, he informs them, proceeded from themselves, they having desired him to postpone his visit to them till that day;

(*a*) See M. Paris, p. 727.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 716. Rapin, p. 300, justly censures this proceeding of our prelate. See Dr. Brady's History, p. 397.

(*c*) The bishop below, in 1250, complains to the pope on the suppression of this oath, *ex officio*, as a grievance.

where-

whereupon, not chusing to be idle, he went to Stow first, as he found he could dispatch his business there before the time fixed for his coming to them (*a*). The canons seem to have received him with a dejected countenance and an ill grace, perhaps on his enjoining them some unpalatable regulations (*b*).

We have seen the bishop often embroiled with the Crown before; and now the king wrote to him, to express his wonder, that the clergy should presume, of themselves, to assess and raise a subsidy on the regular and secular clergy, for the use of the pope. To this his lordship replies, that he had done nothing by his own authority in the business, or singly by himself, as his fellow-bishops had done the same, according to a plan given them by Martin the pope's late agent, and as the authority and mandate of the pope required, whom it would be rebellion not to obey. His lordship then insists, that it would be far more strange, if the bishops had not done as much, or even more, without being asked, considering the exigences of the time; when their father the pope, and their mother the church, whom they were bound to assist and relieve, were in a state of banishment (*c*), were persecuted on all sides (*d*), deprived of their patrimony, and unable to support themselves. The king, therefore, he hoped, would not think of obstructing their benevolence to their spiritual parents, but rather would encourage and promote it, as his highness might be well assured, that whosoever should advise him to do otherwise could have no regard for his honour (*e*). And thus the king, though

(*a*) Brown, p. 391.

(*b*) In this sense I take the bishop's obscure letter to the dean and chapter, in Brown, p. 392. Let the reader judge.

(*c*) Innocent IV. was still at Lyons.

(*d*) Meaning by the Emperor and his party.

(*e*) Brown, p. 390.

he had much reason on his side, was driven from his hold, and made at last to consent to the measure (*a*).

The bishop, however, in the weighty affair of the national grievances, which the kingdom suffered from his holiness, and against which the states had universally and warmly remonstrated (*b*), concurred with his brethren, the suffragan bishops of the province of Canterbury, in writing a gentle letter to Innocent, informing him of the present unfavourable disposition of the people of this land toward his holiness, on account of the perpetual provisors, and the frequent citations of the nobles, and others; and of the imminent danger he incurred of exciting tumults in the nation; and consequently intreating him to have regard to his promise of moderation made at the late general council, and to quiet the minds of the king and the earl of Cornwall (*c*). The abbats wrote to Innocent to the same effect, and the nobles, with Richard earl of Cornwall at the head of them, very vigorously. The king also wrote both to his holiness and the cardinals. But all that could be obtained at last was, that, when the pope wanted to *provide* for a nephew of his own, or of the cardinals, he, or the cardinals, would ask the king's consent (*d*), who, you may imagine, would never refuse it; so that, as the historian well observes, it was only giving the pope's scribes the trouble of writing the petitions (*e*).

The see of Canterbury was involved in much debt, not contracted by archbishop Edmund, Boniface's predecessor (*f*), but

(*a*) See below.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 666, seq. 698.

(*c*) Idem, p. 699.

(*d*) Idem, p. 706.

(*e*) Idem, p. 722. This seems to be the business, Mr. Stow says, bishop Grosseteste was engaged in, p. 186, for which see in 1244 above.

(*f*) M. Paris, pp. 693, 734.

incurred

incurred principally by cardinal Langton, who, in the year 1220, with pomp almost incredible, and at a most enormous expence, translated Becket's body from the undercroft of the cathedral of Canterbury into the sumptuous shrine described by Erasmus (*a*), at the East end of the church; and afterwards erected a noble hall at his palace at Canterbury. The debt is stated at 22,000 marks, or 14,666l. 13s. 4d. by Mr. Somner (*b*); and it arose, I apprehend, from both the causes above-mentioned, and not from the translation of Becket's body only (*c*); as the late Mr. Gostling insinuates (*d*), for, Boniface, according to Mr. Somner (*e*), said, in regard to the hall, 'My predecessors built this hall at great expences. They did well indeed; but they laid out no money about this building, except what they borrowed. I seem, indeed, to be truly the builder of this hall, because I paid their debts.' However this may be, the see of Canterbury was involved in much debt; and Boniface applied to the pope for power to raise money upon the archiepiscopal estate, and the province of Canterbury, for the discharge of this vast debt. The pope condescended, and empowered Equeblanc, bishop of Hereford, to take the first fruits of all the benefices in the city, diocese, and province of Canterbury, until the sum collected should amount to 10000 marks, and also to reserve 2000 marks yearly out of the rents and profits of the archiepiscopal estate, for the purpose of clearing off the incumbrance. A competence, nevertheless, was to be allowed to incumbents; and wherever, ac-

(*a*) Erasmi Colloqu. Peregrin. Religionis ergo. See Somner, p. 125.

(*b*) Somner, p. 128.

(*c*) Though that was undoubtedly very great. Annal. Dunstap. p. 94. Chron. Petriburg. p. 99, perhaps 18000 marks. See below, p. 183.

(*d*) Mr. Gostling, Walk about Canterbury, p. 128.

(*e*) Somner, p. 128.

according to course of law, the profits of the living belonged to the clerk deceased, Equeblanc was to take the fruits of the second year. Bishop Groffeteste was required to publish this bull, and he did so (*a*). It was apparently a great act of oppression, and as such was particularly complained of in the public remonstrances (*b*). Groffeteste had himself the same opinion of it. For, when Boniface sent his clerks to him, requiring him to put his seal, along with those of the bishop of Hereford and the elect of Chichester, to a circular letter to be sent to all the suffragans; and also desiring him to indite a monitory letter from himself to the suffragans to the same effect; he declined doing either, alledging the offence he should thereby give to the suffragans, by deserting that uniformity of sentiment, concerning this business, which subsisted among them; and by thus prejudging the matter, and leading them by his example to concur in the subsidy. He should render himself odious, he also said, to all the clergy who would think themselves intolerably grieved by such a pre-concession of the subsidy; especially as the pope, and the king by the pope's authority, were both of them, at this present, demanding a very considerable subsidy from the clergy (*c*).

As to the pope, the king at first absolutely forbade any money to be raised for him (*d*); but at last he yielded to the menaces of his brother, and some of the bishops, in particular of Walter de Cantelupe, who was even empowered to lay the kingdom, on a refusal, under an interdict (*e*).

(*a*) M. Paris, pp. 692, 703.

(*b*) Idem, p. 698, seq.

(*c*) Brown, p. 367.

(*d*) M. Paris, pp. 707, 708, 709; and see before, ad ann. 1245, where bishop Groffeteste was at first to be concerned in gathering this tallage.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 709.

When the popes erected the disciples of St. Dominic and St. Francis into societies, the monks murmured and repined at this accumulation of new orders, as they apparently tended to depreciate the older establishments (*a*). But the Roman pontiffs knew well what they did (*b*), foreseeing, that they should necessarily, in time coming, derive infinite advantages from a set of itinerant preachers, who were to run about all the world; would be admitted every where, even into the courts of princes; would be masters of every one's secrets, and would be sure to be the servile creatures and dependants of the holy chair: (*c*). St. Dominic and St. Francis were both now dead, and the time was come for his holiness to think of applying this engine of state to the purpose for which, in the breast of that politic court, it was originally intended. We are accordingly entering now on what, I presume, may be the first instance of the friars being employed in that dirty work, for which afterwards they became so infamously notorious.

As the pope was debarred at this juncture from sending any nuncio or agent openly into the kingdom (*d*), he had recourse to the dexterity of the friars, who as yet maintained a fair character in the world.

John Houghton, archdeacon of Northampton, died in 1246, and Almeric de Buggeden, archdeacon of Bedford, left the

(*a*) Vide supra, p. 163, and Parker, p. 273.

(*b*) A quorum dolo fraudeque meditata profecti sunt fratres. M. Parker, p. 237.

(*c*) See Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry, p. 294, who observes, 'The Dominicans and Franciscans were, before the Reformation, exactly what the Jesuits have been since.' John Fox terms the Dominicans, on account of their black habit, *The Black-guard*. Martyrol. II. pp. 7, 8, 200.

(*d*) The king had absolutely forbidden it. M. Paris, pp. 667, 727, 876.

world not long before (*a*), as did Robert de Hayles, archdeacon of Lincolnshire, in 1238. These dignitaries, as the pope had been informed, died immensely rich in money and other valuables, and, dying intestate, all their riches went amongst their relations, which his holiness could not hear, or think of, without regret. He accordingly dispatched the friars, whom he sent as his private agents to England in 1246, that, whenever any of the clergy should die intestate, their goods and chattels should be seized for his use. Roger, archbishop of York, had procured a bull of the same kind formerly in regard to priests dying in his province; but it was a novel commission at this time; and, when the king was told of it, he could not help cursing these various and studied arts of raising money upon his subjects, and endeavoured to prevent the ill effects of them by his proclamations (*b*). But whoever recollects with what instability, and to how little purpose, the king always opposed the Papal depredations, will easily imagine, that these edicts were attended with no great success. However, the infallible pontiff revoked the decree himself next year, at the instance of the cardinals, on account of the gross and general scandal it gave; and, indeed, it tended to the impoverishment of many of the nobility, and there was one clause in it which was then thought extremely hard; that if the testator, by reason of sudden sickness, should not be able to express the formal words of a will, but should depute a friend to do it who knew well his mind, such will should be of no validity, but the party should be deemed an intestate, and all his goods should pass to the pope (*c*).

(*a*) He died in 1244.

(*b*) M. Parker, p. 273. M. Paris, pp. 707, 710, 724.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 724.

The next exploit of those new and dexterous nuncios, the friars, was in 1247, when John and Alexander, two English Franciscans, were sent with the necessary powers to extort money for his holiness. They resorted to the king in the first place, desiring leave, with all submission and humility of countenance and behaviour, to beg charity for the pope, and promising to apply no force of any kind. The king, deceived by their specious appearance, granted them his licence without scruple; whereupon laying aside their proper habit, *in læsionem et opprobrium ordinis et professionis suæ*, they dressed themselves out with splendour, and, mounting each a fine horse gallantly trapped, took upon them all the state of legates, whilst the procurations they demanded were answerable to the magnificence of their appearance, no less than twenty shillings a night. The first persons whom these insolent emissaries assailed were the greatest prelates, threatening them, notwithstanding all the fair promises and protestations they had made to the king, with the most formidable punishments, and fixing a very short time either for punishment or refusal. When they came to bishop Grosseteste, who, as the author observes, was ever a great lover and patron of their order, he was astonished beyond measure at seeing the strange transformation of these friars, in respect of their habit and carriage (*a*), as also of the errand they were come upon. He could scarcely guess of what order or rank they were. However, they assured him they had the pope's bull, and pressingly demanded, as to the money, no larger sum than 6000 marks, for the contribution of his diocese. The bishop answered with amazement, as well as grief of heart, 'Friars, this demand, I speak it with all reverence to his ho-

(*a*) Which, indeed, was very shocking to many. M. Paris, p. 729.

‘linefs, is difhonourable, and not to be complied with, becaufe
 ‘it is impoffible to do that. It does not concern me only, but
 ‘the whole body of the clergy and people of the kingdom. It
 ‘would, therefore, be a moft rash thing, and very abfurd, for me
 ‘to give a definitive answer to it at once, and in an instant, be-
 ‘fore the fenfe of the kingdom is taken upon it.’ The friars, on
 this, left his lordfhip, to try what they could do at St. Alban’s,
 where they fucceeded no better with that great houfe (a);
 which may fhew us, that his lordfhip’s answer was not only spi-
 rited and fenfible, but confonant to the notions of the other pre-
 lates; however, he, undoubtedly, would be much grieved, and
 highly incenfed, to fee his favourite Francifcans made abject
 tools of the Papacy.

Richard earl of Cornwall, the king’s brother, was immensely
 rich (b), and amongft other fources of wealth he accumulated
 much money, through the pope’s favour, by having the fums
 paid by recanting croifées, for the redemption of their vows,
 placed in his hands, without account (c). J. Saracenus (d), the
 pope’s chaplain, and dean of Wells, and Bernard de Nympha,
 one of the pope’s writers, or fecretaries (e), were the agents em-
 ployed in the bufinefs laft mentioned by his holinefs and the
 earl; and as they applied to the diocefans for their affiftance,

(a) M. Paris, p. 722. Sir H. Chauncy, p. 441. They fucceeded afterwards,
 however, in part. M. Paris, p. 728.

(b) In 1258. he was found able to expend a hundred marks a day for ten
 years, befides his ftanding revenues in England and Almain. Kennett, Par. Ant.
 p. 253. He had difburfed vaft fums but a year or two before in making himfelf
 king of the Romans.

(c) M. Paris, pp. 940, 942. Dugd. Baron. I. p. 278. It was a common artifice
 to perfuade people to take the crofs, and then to abfolve them from their vow for
 money. M. Paris, pp. 433, 525.

(d) M. Paris, Addit. p. 225. Annal. Dunst. p. 238. Le Neve, p. 35.

(e) *Scriptorum*. Thefe writers were often men of good abilities, and fo became
 agents. Annal. Burton, pp. 326, 405. Brown, Fascic. II. pp. 399, 428.

requesting them to summon the archdeacons and their officials, to appear at St. Martin's, London, on Monday after the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, they wrote to that purpose to bishop Grosseteste, June 4, 1247, and he accordingly cited the archdeacons, &c. August 1, following, being then at *Edevetun* (a), in the diocese of Salisbury. It appears, from the instrument of citation, that Grosseteste and the bishop of Worcester had been invested with particular powers by the pope concerning this business of the crusade; for, he gives the archdeacons specific directions about deceased croisées, promised subsidies, legacies, executors, the proceedings of the rural deans, &c (b), though the pope's injunctions to those prelates have not occurred to me. Lewis the Ninth of France went at this time upon his expedition to the Holy Land, and was accompanied by William Longspé, and a band of Englishmen (c), though not with king Henry's approbation (d). However, Longspé importuned from his holiness the like favour which had been granted to the earl of Cornwall, namely, to pocket the moneys forfeited by the recreant croisées, and in part, as indeed he had much greater occasion for it than the other, succeeded in his request, receiving above a thousand marks, though he did not begin his expedition for some years after this (e).

The bishop, soon after this, was suspended along with the other bishops of the province, and also incurred the sentence of excommunication in conjunction with them. The cause was this: when archbishop Boniface was at Lyons, in 1245, he pretended, and with some colour of reason, that the

(a) Q. *Edenetun*, Edington, Eddington, or Hedington, where bishop Edindon, 1347, founded a college. Camden's Brit. I. p. 100.

(b) M. Paris, Additament. p. 225, seq.

(c) Fuller's History of the Holy War, p. 187. Dugd. Baron. I. p. 178.

(d) Fuller, l. c. (e) Dugd. Bar. I. p. 178. Kennett, Par. Ant. pp. 238, 242.

see of Canterbury being in debt 15,000 marks, on account of the costly translation of the body of Thomas à Becket in 1220, and in the time of archbishop Stephen Langton (*a*), he could not discharge this incumbrance without the assistance of his holiness the pope. And he there procured a rescript from the pontiff, directed to all the clergy of the province of Canterbury, empowering him to levy 10,000 marks upon the benefices that should be vacant during seven years. 2000 marks more were to be paid him yearly from the church of Canterbury. When the king was told of this bull, he was extremely enraged, and said, he wondered the archbishop, who had lately been exalted by himself to that high dignity, could have the effrontery to bring, by his procurement, so much damage upon his kingdom. But so unaccountable was the king's levity, that, though he made a shew of resistance at the first, yet in the end he neither molested the archbishop, nor the pope, in the progress of the business, but shamefully yielded to their remonstrances and intreaties.

The bishops of the province had often and openly refused to grant any more supplies to the pope; and now, when the archbishop transmitted his bull for levying money on his province and church, they thought proper to reject his demands. Upon which, Boniface suspended them all, by authority of the pope, from the celebration of divine offices; and, more than that, he prevailed with his holiness to excommunicate both them, and some others, who were busy and re-

(*a*) Wilkins, Concil. I. pp. 572, 584. Archbishop Parker, p. 242. Somner, Antiq. Cant. p. 124. The debt is said at least to have amounted to 22,000 marks. See Leland in Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 467; as also above, in 1246. I think it probable the translation might cost 15,000 marks, and the hall (for which see above, p. 173) 7000.

fractory,

fractory, or opposed them in any shape. The sentence was pronounced by the dean of Beauvais, who was empowered for the purpose, on the bishops and clergy of the province; and they were compelled by the severity of the censures to comply at length, though with reluctance, with the archbishop's demands. The sentences were consequently relaxed.

The king of France was blessed, if you will believe it, with a possession of a moiety of Christ's cross, introduced into his kingdom with all imaginable pomp and veneration (*a*); and that the king of England might not be behind with him, or poorer in religion than his great neighbour, he acquired some of our Saviour's blood. The masters of the Temple and hospital at Jerusalem sent this blood in a beautiful chrystal phial, with an ample attestation, and indeed it required that, under the seals of the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishops and bishops, the prelates and grandees of the Holy Land; and it was brought by one of the knights templars. Now, before the feast of the translation of St. Edward, viz. October 13, when there was a splendid appearance of the nobility and prelates at London, for the celebration of that festival, and to assist at the knighting of William de Valentia, one of the king's uterine brothers, and others of the young nobility, the arrival of this precious relique was notified unto them.

The king, accordingly, kept the vigil of the festival with great strictness, &c. and, to make short, deposited the relique with the most pompous procession and exuberance of joy, in the abbey of Westminster, and an indulgence of six years and one hundred and sixteen days was obtained, from the bishops

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 551. See Dart, Westm. p. 57. Widmore, p. 64.

then

then present, to all that should come thither to venerate this sacred relique.

But now there was much doubt, at the time, about the authenticity of this sacred extraordinary relique; at last, however, the prior of the hospital of Jerusalem in England put a period to men's cavils by this doughty argument, that so many great personages, as above, would never attest a falsehood to the destruction of their own souls.

Both bishop Grosseteste and Matthew Paris were present at this solemnity; and when some of the spectators were still very slow of belief, and started the following shrewd objection, 'Since the entire Christ rose the third day, how should he leave any of his blood on earth?' the question was answered to satisfaction by the bishop, and the solution was carefully written down by Matthew. His lordship observed, 'That we have in our bodies two kinds of blood, one that is generated of the aliments we take, which sometimes will be so redundant as to come out of the nose, or other emunctories of the body, and often wants to be diminished by venesection. Of this blood of Christ we have some on earth, though he was not of a florid habit or constitution, it being the will of God, that a token or memorial of our Lord's passion should remain. The other kind of blood is that which is of the substance, or essence, of every animated body, of which it is said, that a *phthisis* is a consumption of the radical moisture, that is, of the blood necessary and essential to life. This is called by the physicians the friend of nature, and of this it is that Moses speaks, when he says, that life is seated in the blood; this blood is placed in the repository of the heart, and there can be no life without it. Perhaps we have none of this blood of Christ

‘ Christ on earth (a); I say *perhaps*, because God can do what-
 ‘ ever he pleaseth. Christ arose, and the whole substance of
 ‘ his body in its perfect beauty, and all he had taken from our
 ‘ human nature, his blood, for example, as consubstantial with
 ‘ it, along with him. It is a different blood that distilled from
 ‘ him which we have here. And in this manner we shall here-
 ‘ after rise, without any deformity or mutilation of body; for,
 ‘ whatever a man may be in this world, whether incurvated or
 ‘ gibbous, or leprous, or dwarfish, or abortive, in the resur-
 ‘ rection he shall be perfect, &c (b).’ What pitiable weakness
 in a great man! to see him giving perfect credit to, and
 adoring a chimera, and then groundlessly refining and dis-
 tinguishing, in order to explain and justify the cheat (c)! One
 may pass the monkish credulity of Matthew Paris, but the su-
 pineness and facility of the grave and most learned Grosseteste
 is truly a very humiliating circumstance unto all.

But

(a) What becomes then of the act of transubstantiation?

(b) M. Paris, p. 736. Additamenta, p. 162, seq.

(c) The blood at Hales, in the county of Gloucester, mentioned by Chaucer, Pardoner’s Tale, 2368, and see Weever, p. 143, was thought to be a duck’s blood. Lambarde, Top. Dict. p. 146. Burnet, Reform. pp. 212, 243. Lord Herbert, p. 243. Devot. of Rom. Ch. p. 152. John Fox says the same, II. p. 56, 395, 512; but it was clarified honey, says Dr. Percy, in Northumb. Househ. Book, p. 438. It was more famous, according to my idea, than that at Westminster. Fox’s Martyrology, II. pp. 139, 395. Nicodemus is reported to have collected some of Christ’s blood, and to have preserved it in one of the fingers of his glove, and to have wrought miracles with it; this, I suppose, is now at the abbey of Bec in Normandy. H. Steph. Apolog. pour Herodot. III. p. 231, edit. 1735; rather at Occamus, Neustria Pia, p. 256. Kennet, Par. Ant. p. 301. The Virgin Mother, according to others, gathered some of her son’s blood. H. Steph. p. 234. Quære if some was not thought to be at Norwich. Fox, Martyr. II. p. 108. Some at Venice. Wright, Travels, p. 52; and at Mantua. Devot. of Rom. Ch. p. 12. See also this author, p. 28, seq. 651. Again, it was pretended that some of Christ’s blood was at Ashridge, in the county of Bucks. Kennet, Par. Antiq. p. 300. and proved to be honey clarified, and coloured with saffron. Ibid. The house at

But supposing the bishop's distinction of an adventitious blood, different from the consubstantial one, to have a real foundation in nature, which certainly it has not, the question might still remain about the genuineness of this relique. Here Matthew himself steps in, and tells us, with a serious face, that Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus washed and wiped the bloody body of our Saviour, preserved the lotion, and divided it betwixt them; and that by them it was transmitted from father to son, and from friend to friend, down to the present time. A most ingenious piece of history, truly! But I shall insist no longer on such fopperies, since the French (*a*), and even the superstitious Spaniards (*b*), have begun to despise them.

Nicolas, the Greek, called by an anonymous author (*c*) *Elicberus*, and whom we just mentioned above (*d*), seems to have been a scholar of fortune (*e*); but what brought him to England is not known; perhaps it might be an invitation of

Ashridge was described, *Domus sanguinis Jesu Christi de Asbrugge*. Ibid. p. 423. More may be seen in regard to Christ's blood in Neustria. Pia. pp. 253, 256, 257; and a mass in honour of it is mentioned, p. 258. Lastly, Joseph of Arimathea, who buried our Saviour, is said to have brought some of his blood with him to Glastonbury. Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. p. 13. Warton's History of English Poetry, I. p. 134; but William of Malmesbury, though he mentions Joseph, Antiquities of Glastonbury, p. 292, and the reliques there, p. 300, seq. never names it; and, in fact, Joseph was never in England. See Stillingfleet, p. 6.

(*a*) Gray's Poems, p. 45.

(*b*) Twiss, Travels, p. 70.

(*c*) Apud Wharton, A. S. II. p. 345.

(*d*) Pages 11, 12.

(*e*) Mr. Warton, following John Leland, seems to think he was not a Greek by nation, but called so for his proficiency in the language. Hist. of English Poetry, Dissert. II. p. cxliii. but in the MS. of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, at Trinity College, Cambridge, he is expressly said to be *natione & conversatione Græcus*. Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 345: where by *conversatione* is meant language.

John de Hertford, abbat of St. Alban's, whose clerk (a) we find him called below. Nicolas was well versed in the Latin and Greek languages, and had studied both at Oxford and Paris (b).

It was by the assistance of this stranger, and of John de Basing, that bishop Grosseteste improved in the Greek tongue; nay, it appears, by the express testimony of Matthew Paris, that the bishop and he united their labours in translating Greek authors into Latin; 'Robertus transtulit,' says Matthew, 'e Græca lingua in Latinam Testamenta duodecim Patriarcharum, coadjuvante Nicolao Græco, clerico abbatis sancti Albani (c).' Bishop Tanner notes upon this, 'Labor Nicolai incipit, post annos duos mortis Joseph, opus vero Roberti sic, transcriptum est Testamentum Ruben;' as if there were two different versions, one made by the bishop, the other by Nicolas (d).

On the footing of Nicolas's concurring in the translation of the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, Leland conjectures, and not absurdly, that this learned foreigner assisted the bishop in like manner, in the several cases of Johannes Damascenus, and Dionysius the Areopagite, Greek authors, whom he translated and illustrated with commentaries (e).

Nicolas chiefly resided in the monastery at St. Alban's, where, as it should seem, our prelate found him, and, inviting

(a) Mr. Wood calls him *Cænobiarcha*, p. 82, and 90. See below.

(b) Wood, p. 82, says he studied first at Oxford, then at Paris. He was probably at Oxford again in 1238, when Nicolas de St. Albano was bailed on account of the tumult about Otho the legate. Wood, p. 90. See Leland in Tanner, Bibl. p. 545.

(c) Tanner, Biblioth. p. 545. See above in 1242. Thomas Caius, p. 324.

(d) See Fabricius, Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. p. 519.

(e) Tanner, Bibl. p. 456. See the Catalogue of the Bishop's works, below.

him to his palace, kept him constantly with him, 'Hunc [Nicolaum] humanissime acceptum,' says Leland, speaking of Bishop Groffeteste, 'tanquam comitem plane individuum, sibi suisque studiis arctissime conjunxit (a).'

Nicolas, being then *subdecanus* (b), was instituted in 1239, the fifth year of our prelate's pontificate, to the rectory of Datchet, in the archdeaconry of Bucks, on the presentation of the abbat and convent of St. Alban's (c). Some may hence be inclined to imagine, that Nicolas, with his other languages, must have made himself master of the English tongue; but this does not strictly follow, for at this time many foreigners were incumbents, who knew not a word of the language of their flocks; witness that croud of Italians promoted here to benefices by the pope and his agents; and it was a matter of general complaint.

Bishop Groffeteste, after this, gave his friend and assistant, who had been so useful in his studies, a taste of his favour, making him canon of Lincoln in 1248 (d), or perhaps before, though his name does not occur in the lists.

Nicolas was living in 1259 (e), and it has been said he was abbat of St. Alban's at last, *Cænobiarcha* (f), but that I think must be a mistake, no such abbat appearing in Dr. Browne Willis (g).

(a) Tanner, Bibl. p. 545.

(b) Idem, Ibid. 9, if not a mistake for *Subdiaconus*.

(c) Idem, Ibid.

(d) Idem, Ibid.

(e) Idem, Ibid.

(f) Wood, Hist. p. 82. Thomas Caius, p. 324. Perhaps we should read *Cænobita*; and yet it may be questioned, whether he was even a monk; he seems to have been a secular priest beneficed by the monastery. Wharton, A. S. II. p. 345. Tanner, Bibl. p. 545.

(g) Willis, Mitred Abbeyes, I. p. 21.

William Lupus, archdeacon of Worcester (*a*), was made archdeacon of Lincoln by our bishop in 1248 (*b*). On the death of his patron, in 1253, archbishop Boniface pretended a right of collating to the prebends and rectories (*c*), *sede vacante*, which the chapter aforetime was always wont to enjoy, and excommunicated all that should oppose him. The canons yielded, but William resisted Boniface manfully, interposing an appeal to the pope; whereupon the archbishop persecuted him not only by the sentence of excommunication he had denounced, but by every other act of severity that lay in his power (*d*). William was forced to abscond at St. Edmundsbury; but still not thinking himself safe, he crossed the sea, and applied personally to the pope, who commiserating him as an exile and a sufferer for his church's rights, gave him absolution, and protected him against Boniface, affording him hopes, on his departure, of having the privilege belonging to his church restored (*e*). But as William was on his return, being worn out with labour and vexation, which now had lasted three years, he died (*f*). In his absence, as I suppose, the archbishop declared the archdeaconry void, and filled it with Robert de Herfey (*g*).

(*a*) So Dr. Willis. Le Neve says of Gloucester.

(*b*) Willis.

(*c*) He had some grounds for his demand. Browne Willis, Survey of St. Asaph, p. 56; and see the decision of this broil in note *e*.

(*d*) M. Paris, p. 878.

(*e*) The affair was ended by the king's mediation about 1266, when it was agreed, that the archbishop should enjoy, on a vacancy of the see, all the episcopal rights, excepting jurisdiction over eight churches situate in the city of Lincoln, which were to be reserved to the dean and chapter. M. Parker, p. 283. Before this final conclusion, the parties had referred the business to the archdeacon of Canterbury and Robert de Marisco. Annal. de Dunstap. p. 303, but to no effect.

(*f*) M. Parker, p. 279, seq. M. Paris, p. 878.

(*g*) Willis.

William was allowed to be a consummate divine even by that great Aristarchus, Roger Bacon (*a*); and M. Paris further testifies of him, that he was 'Vir quidem jurisperitus, eleganter literatus, et magnæ auctoritatis (*b*).' He was prebendary also of Wildland in the church of St. Paul's (*c*).

The parliament met on the 9th of February; it was a full assembly, and there were nine bishops present, of which the bishop of Lincoln was one. The king demanded a subsidy, which gave the nobles a handle to expatiate and complain of his mismanagement and mal-administration in all its various shapes. He was greatly blamed, amongst other things, for keeping the vacant bishopricks and abbeys, founded by the piety and munificence of their ancestors, as likewise the wards, so long in his hands (*d*); he ought, they said, to be the protector and defender of them, it being for that purpose that the fees and convents were said to be in his hand, that is, under his protection; and that his detention was the improving of ^{nothing} them, and contrary to the principal part of his oath at the coronation. But nothing came of all this; the king blushed, humbled himself to them, and made large promises; so the matter was respited till after Midsummer, the king, in the interval, treading in his old steps (*e*). The same fate attended the meeting at Midsummer (*f*).

May 1, a noble student of character, passing late by the church of St. Martin at Oxford, was met by some townsmen, and so much beaten, insulted, and wounded, that he died in

(*a*) Wood, Hist. p. 123.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 878.

(*c*) Newcourt, Repert. I. p. 224.

(*d*) See one instance in Drake's Eborac. p. 428.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 743.

(*f*) Idem, p. 748.

three days. The chancellor and university informed the bishop immediately of this bloody murder, adding, that the bailiffs of the city suffered the offenders to go at large from the first, and, after the decease of the wounded party, conducted them with an armed force to the church of St. Martin, as to a sanctuary, where they were permitted peaceably to reside; and that the members of the university were so offended and exasperated upon it, that they absented from all lectures, ordinary and extraordinary, swearing, that, unless condign punishment was inflicted on the criminals, several like cases having happened before, and the culprits being left unpunished, they would withdraw from the place; and that at present they would not suffer the corpse of the clerk to be buried, but kept it above ground as a memorial of the fact, until they should receive the king's and the bishop's commands about it. The bishop, on his part, wrote to Robert de Marisco, archdeacon of Oxford, and his official, to repair to Oxford without delay, and to excommunicate the offending parties and their abettors, and then, enquiring strictly into the fact, to inflict canonical punishment upon the guilty and their accomplices (*a*). The proceedings of De Marisco are not related; but it appears, that, by a mandate from the king to the sheriff, all the goods of a vintner, one of the accomplices, were seized, and the greatest part of his wine; three hogheads being distributed, one to the Franciscan Friars, another to the master of St. John's hospital without Eastgate, and a third to Maud wife of Jeffrey de Langlé (*b*); and that the king upon the occasion granted certain new privileges to the university (*c*).

(*a*) Wood's Hist. p. 94. The letter was written from Stow, May 8, a. 13 Pontif.

(*b*) This is particular. See also something like it in Warton's History of English Poetry, p. 48.

(*c*) Wood, p. 95.

An unhappy diffension arose between William de Hotot, abbat of Peterborough, and his convent (*a*). The charge against William was, dilapidation and wasting the estate of the house, for the enrichment of his relations (of whom he had always a great number about him), though he had been admonished for not correcting these abuses. The convent, on the disregard he paid to their representations and remonstrances, called in the bishop, who was ever ready and desirous of animadverting upon and punishing offenders. When the abbat was convicted of misdemeanors, and deposition was likely to ensue, he made a merit of voluntarily resigning his office and dignity into the hands of the bishop; whereupon a part of the abbatial estate, as was common (*b*), namely, one manor was assigned him, for the purpose of an honourable and competent support, in an heremetical or penitential way, for the term of his life (*c*).

Not only abbats (*d*), but bishops (*e*), have sometimes been found, even in those early times, alienators of the church-estate, by conferring certain portions of it on religious houses, or on their own relations. These prelates were not married, whence it should seem to be very partial in Dr. Browne Willis to ascribe the numerous alienations made by the Protestant bishops at the

(*a*) Diffensions were perpetually happening in the monasteries. See Fox, p. 58.

(*b*) This was generally done in cases of resignations, both for bishops and abbats; as for the latter see M. Paris, p. 758. Wharton, Ang. Sac. I. p. 548. Willis, Mitr. Ab. pp. 104, 260, 308; and, for bishops, Memoirs of Roger de Weseham, p. 43. Godwyn de Præsul. p. 416.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 758. Gunton, p. 33.

(*d*) Besides this instance of the abbat of Peterborough, historians inform us of many like doings in other places. M. Paris, in vit. pp. 37, 38. Hugo Candidus, p. 52. Willis, Mitr. Ab. II. pp. 210, 211, and see hereafter; also Godwin, p. 739. Thomas' account of the bishops of Worcester, p. 48, where a celebrated saint is concerned.

(*e*) Alexander, and Robert de Chesney, bishops of Lincoln. John Veysey, the enormous alienator at Exeter, was actually a Papist.

formation to their matrimony, as their cause; a position and observation which necessarily imply, that the celibacy of the clergy tends to the benefit of the church. This cause, however, is both improbable in itself, and inadequate to the effect, as will be fully shewn in another place (*a*). Wherefore it may suffice to say here, that the temper of the times, and the undue influence of the crown, were the principal source of all this evil and mischief; and that the sovereigns and their favourites are chiefly to be blamed for the depredations committed upon the sees at that juncture, and not the bishops, who in strictness could not well avoid doing what they did.

On St. James's day the bishop visited the priory of Dunstaple, and Henry de Bilenda, the celerar, not being able to clear himself from some charge brought against him, and dreading the severity of the visitor, withdrew privately from the convent the Sunday morning following, and on September 8 became a monk in the Cistercian abbey of Merival (*b*), in a different diocese, and of a stricter order (*c*).

On August 2 his lordship visited the canons of Cawdwell, in the county of Bedford, when Eudo, the prior, accused on many articles both by his canons and others, and greatly apprehensive of the bishop's rigour and austerity, was advised by certain priors, his friends, who were there present, to resign, and he did so. He entered the Friday following the house at Merival (*d*).

(*a*) Appendix, N° XVI.

(*b*) Annal. Dunstap. pp. 267, 284-

(*c*) It was common for the religious to pass, by way of penance, from one order to another of stricter discipline. Merival was in the county of Warwick.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 285.

A beneficed clergyman of the diocese, named Ranulph, was deprived by the bishop, and degraded for incontinence; and, after that, excommunicated for contumacy in refusing to surrender his living. The bishop, after forty days, directed the sheriff of Rutland, where the degraded clerk resided, to apprehend him; but he, probably as a friend to the party, and at the same time not very fond of the bishop, either delayed or refused it. Upon which, his lordship, being a warm man, and no respecter of persons, excommunicated also the sheriff, Jeffrey de Rockingham (*a*), who, proving to be a man of spirit, had immediately recourse to the king, and complained to him. The king was very wroth, as likewise were all the courtiers, and swore hard, observing, ‘that, if any of his officers be guilty of negligence to this or any other bishop, he ought to make his complaint to me, and he shews me contempt in doing otherwise.’ His highness then sent a solemn embassy to the pope at Lyons, and by the force of money obtained his holiness’s letters, importing, that no archbishop, bishop, or other prelate, may compel the king’s officers to litigate in their courts any matters that concerned the jurisdiction royal, or should presume to force them to plead by a sentence of excommunication. This, however, was thought to be injurious to the liberties of the church, and the king was blamed by men of experience for applying to the pope on this occasion (*b*).

The bishop, I fear, was too hasty in his process against the sheriff; for, by the articles of Clarendon, not even the king’s tenants *in capite*, nor the officers on his demesnes, were to be excommunicated without application first made to him, that he might try to redress the matter of complaint (*c*). This appears

(*a*) Fuller’s Worthies in Rutland.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 777.

(*c*) Articles of Clarendon, 7 and 10.

to be reasonable; so that the king had a just conception of the matter, and in his observation put it on a right footing; and so thought pope Innocent. But the liberties of the church were infringed, as M. Paris suggests, and the king was to blame in applying to the pope. Appeals at this time were allowed and practised by all parties, and the king ought not to be blamed for taking that step; and, as to the liberties of the Church, they stood, in this case, upon the basis of the articles of Clarendon (though, perhaps, both Matthew and the bishop might wish them more enlarged), and therefore this was not an invasion of them.

The bishop, as we had before occasion to remark (*a*), did not affect the monks; and, in consequence of the powers obtained from the pope in 1248 (*b*), he summoned all the religious of his diocese to assemble at Leicester, January 14, in order to hear and receive his holiness's injunctions. His lordship's intention was, as appears from the powers abovementioned, to lay hold of all the appropriate rectories and rents of the religious, in case they had not obtained the assent of the dean and chapter of Lincoln (*c*), with proper instruments thereupon, and to take them into his own hand (*d*). But this matter was not easily ended; for, the religious appealed to the pope,

(*a*) See above, in 1245.

(*b*) In 1248, being then in favour with the court of Rome, he dispatched Leonard, a clerk of his, often employed by him at that court, to Lyons, on this business; and, sparing no cost, he obtained Innocent's letters, dated 6th of his pontificate. See a copy in M. Paris, *Addimenta*, p. 179.

(*c*) M. Paris, *Addimenta*, p. 179. See also *Annal. Dunstap.* p. 287, when those houses that were possessed of churches were convened to sit at Stamford, then at Leicester, and a third time at Oxford, to shew their charters, &c. of which the bishop took copies.

(*d*) Not with a design of retaining them, you will suppose, to his own use; but probably for the purpose of instituting and ordaining vicarages in them.

which obliged the bishop, old as he was, together with Robert de Marisco, archdeacon of Oxford, and Almeric de Buggeden, archdeacon of Bedford, and some other clerks, to make a journey to Lyons (*a*). The appellants were the Exempts (*b*), Templars, Hospitallers, and many others, who, by means of money, (for, money could do every thing at that fordid and venal court), succeeded with his holiness.

When the bishop, who had been at much labour and expence, understood this, he was much dejected, and said to the pope, ‘I relied upon your letters and promises, but am entirely ‘frustrated in my hopes, since those, whom I thought to have ‘humbled, will now to my shame return exempt and free.’ The pope answered sternly, ‘What is that to you? You have ‘done your part, and we are disposed to favour them: Is your ‘eye evil, because I am good?’ And when the bishop, in a low tone, but so as to be heard by his holiness, said, ‘O Money, ‘Money, how prevalent art thou, especially in the court of ‘Rome (*c*)!’ the pope answered tartly, ‘You English are the ‘most miserable of all people, always striving to grind and im- ‘poverish one another. How many religious men, already sub- ‘ject unto thee, thine own sheep as it were, thy friends and ‘domestics, men addicted to prayer and hospitality, art thou ‘striving to depress, that with their effects thou mayst sacrifice ‘to thine own tyranny and avidity, for the enriching of others,

(*a*) It is surprising with what ease and comfort the prelates and ecclesiastics would pass to Lyons, or to Rome, in these times. They regarded such journeys as little as our gentlemen do now, when the method of travelling is so much more commodious. It was much in their favour, that, instead of going to inns, which were then but few and bad, they could divert to the monasteries, and be received there.

(*b*) Exempt from the episcopal jurisdiction, as the house at St. Albans, &c.

(*c*) You will find a remarkable instance of the venality of this court in Appendix, N XV.

‘and

‘and perhaps aliens.’ I make no doubt but the latter part of the imputation had no foundation in truth. And, in respect of the pope’s duplicity in the case, one cannot help remarking, how grossly scandalous it was, for Innocent to grant the bishop a power to visit, and then not to support him in the exercise of it, but on the contrary to desert him, and even to take an opposite part. The usage was undoubtedly provoking to the last degree (though the matter was not of such consequence as to cause his lordship to break entirely with his holiness); and, therefore, one cannot wonder that the indignity should be very grating to a man of his spirit and temper. The bishop, however, it is said, withdrew with some confusion in regard to himself, and did not escape the censure of others; and, that he might not seem, adds the historian, to have taken this long journey for nothing, he betook himself to the transacting of some other affairs (*a*).

It was usual for the religious houses to enter into associations and confraternities, in order to partake of the benefit of each other’s suffrages and good works, but in the year 1251 they agreed in a combination of a very different kind, and in consequence of the attacks, as I take it, made upon them by archbishop Boniface and bishop Grosseteste. The greater monasteries, finding the bishops, it is said, and the pope, bear harder upon them than even the laity, entered into an agreement to assist one another. The priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, associated with the abbey of Waltham; and they joined in inviting the house at St. Alban’s to accede to the confederacy. Some other monastic societies applied in the same manner, and for the same purpose, to that great foundation at St Albans (*b*).

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 772, seq. M. Westm. ad A. 1250.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 810.

Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, had not been at Lyons for nothing; for, though his share of learning was, indeed, very moderate, yet he had sharpness enough to learn something from the arts which he saw practised there (*a*). No sooner was he returned to England, in 1250, from Provence, where he had been employed as a warrior, but he began, in imitation of the pope, to put in practice those ways of raising money which he had beheld at Lyons. His design was to visit personally the province of Canterbury throughout, the bishops, abbats, clergy, and people, and he began with his own church (*b*), which he treated so harshly, with such hard and rigorous injunctions, in order to compel the monks to buy them off with money, that it was every where said, that the monks were now paying for their wickedness and impudence in chusing for their prelate an illiterate stranger, more skilled in the art of war (*c*) than in the business of religion (*d*). The monks of Canterbury thought proper at last to

(*a*) The court of Rome was not in the least altered by its transmigration to Lyons; the French proverb concerning the Romipetes was still applicable:

Jamais ni cheval ni homme

N'amenda d'aller à Rome.

Hen. Steph. Apolog. pour Herodote, I. p. 127, seq. See particularly M. Paris, p. 819.

(*b*) Bishop Grosseteste had visited his dean and chapter, and, when they litigated the affair, it went against them at Lyons, as Boniface, who was there, well knew; and he was at least as much in favour with pope Innocent as Grosseteste was. Boniface again was directed to this by the decretals, and he had the example of archbishop Edmund, who in 1238 insisted on visiting the church of St. Paul, London. Brown, p. 360. and see M. Paris, p. 804. As to the abbey of St. Augustine at Canterbury, the monks there were rich and powerful, and, when Boniface made a like attempt upon that house, they procured an exemption by a particular bull. M. Paris, Additamenta, p. 188. Innocent's decretals concerning this matter are inserted in the Additamenta, p. 179. See above, p. 44.

(*c*) The king termed him *Ruptor*, a trooper. M. Paris, p. 623. *Routier*, P. Daniel, II. p. 561. et vide *Ruptarius* in Gloss. and M. Paris, p. 781, et in Vit. pp. 46, 118.

(*d*) M. Paris, pp. 780, 806.

procure

procure a bull to prevent Boniface from troubling either themselves, or their church, with visitation, suspension, or the sentence of excommunication. But the archbishop, who was then at St. Alban's, threw the instrument, when it was shewn to him, into the fire, and excommunicated the persons that brought it. As to other places, the fame of his severities ever reaching them before he could arrive at them, he was always received, wherever he went, with prejudice and ill-will.

To pass by his infamous exploits at London, at the church of St. Paul, and the priory of St. Bartholomew, which may be seen at large in archbishop Parker's History of his Life; he at last thundered out his sentence of excommunication from Lambeth, both against the chapter of St. Paul's, and the convent of St. Bartholomew, including also the bishop of London, whom he regarded as the promoter and principal mover of all the opposition he had met with. The dean of St. Paul's, a grave and wise man, set out with some others for the court of Rome (having before made his appeal to that court) as soon as matters could be got ready; and he carried with him certain letters from the bishops and other prelates of the province, containing a full and authentic narrative of all the late transactions. Boniface and his party soon followed, with great pomp and magnificence, relying on the king's letters, which he took care to procure and carry with him, as likewise on the nobility of his extraction; but when he arrived at Lyons, and found complaints and accusations, which he knew were but too well founded, ready to be preferred against him, he applied himself to the management of his adversaries, making use both of the king's and queen's name, as likewise of his own influence and authority, flattering and cajoling some, and intimidating others by menaces and threats; by

by which manœuvres he blunted the edge of their rage against him. After this, that he might abase and reduce the province of Canterbury entirely to his subjection, he began to treat with the pope, and to request him to confirm his visitatorial pretensions by the apostolical authority.

When the suffragans of the province heard this, they subscribed large sums for defraying the charges of a suit in the court of Rome, which, as they well knew, like a reed agitated with the wind, was liable to incline to any side through the intervention of money. And, indeed, it could not but be resented by them, as an intolerable burthen and hardship, that a man of Boniface's character, unfurnished either with morals or learning, after extorting no less than 11,000 marks from the province, whilst he was absent, should now again, and so soon, attempt to drain it under this pretext of visitation. The event was, that the bishop of London, by his timidity (*a*) or tergiversation, ruined their cause; for, upon the king's repeating his letters to his holiness, intreating him to favour the suit of the archbishop against his competitors, the suffragans, Fulk Basset relented, and submitted himself to the jurisdiction of the archbishop, taking an oath to stand to his award. After this defection, the other prelates deserted the common cause; and so his holiness relaxed the sentences pronounced against the bishop of London, the dean and canons of St. Paul's, the sub-prior and canons of St. Bartholomew, and certain others, that thereby he might seem to act impartially in the cause, and not to concur with Boniface in every thing.

(*a*) Fulk Basset, who was a worthy man, stood out strictly for the king, at Lyons, in 1246, though he complied at last; and now he was the first that yielded to the pope's and archbishop's measures. He could not in either case, as it seems, hold out against a sentence of excommunication, so formidable was that instrument in those times.

The archbishop made a second attack on the dean and chapter of St. Paul's. On his departure from England, he constituted Eustachius de Lea his official, commanding him to keep a watchful eye upon the manners and the delinquencies of the dean and canons of St. Paul's. And no sooner was the former sentence relaxed, but the official excommunicated them again for certain new misdemeanors. The rashness and indignity of this step alarmed all the clergy of the province once more, so that they thought it high time to join their counsels, and to make a common purse, for the purpose of defeating the machinations and tyranny of a primate, who so apparently studied nothing but vengeance and the engrossing of power. They accordingly assembled at Dunstable, where, upon deliberation, they agreed to nominate a proctor general to be sent to Lyons, and to empower him to offer the pope 4000 marks, for the recovery of their former liberty and exemption; and, at the same time, he was to inform his holiness of the several grievances and oppressions committed by Boniface in the province. The pope, allured by the promise of this great sum, wrote to the bishops, and told them he would lighten the hand of Boniface, which was so heavy upon them; and for that purpose he desired they would transmit to him exact relations of all the several matters in which he had been culpable. To make short, his holiness promised the utmost justice and moderation in the decision of the cause, and that both in respect of the bishops, &c. and of the king and the archbishop. However, tasting the sweets of perpetual donatives made him by both parties, he was so far prudent as to defer pronouncing definitively, for a long time, even till the year 1252, when, after receiving the profusest gratuities, he confirmed the visitatorial power of the archbishop, but moderated the procurations that were to be paid

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him. By this expedient, he thought he proceeded with a moderation and impartiality that could not fail of pleasing both the contending parties, and of recompensing them for the money they had lavished away. And so Boniface actually visited the diocese of Lincoln, amongst others, the next year, in his own person (*a*).

I shall dwell no longer on the outrageous and scandalous proceedings, for we call them by no softer name, of this military archbishop; but it is *apropos* to remark, that bishop Groffeteste, as a suffragan, was deeply interested in these disputes, and that being at this time at Lyons (*b*), he tendered to the pontiff the *Propositio Roberti Grosthead de visitatione diocesis suæ* mentioned above (*c*).

This was the last time the bishop appeared in the pope's presence, and, as he was now grown an old man, not likely to shew himself there any more, he took an opportunity of giving three copies of a long sermon (*d*) (for he did not deliver it from the pulpit), one to his holiness, and the other two to two of the cardinals, in order to have it read, Richard (*e*) archdeacon of Oxford standing at his side. He introduced it with a proper preliminary, to bespeak their benevolence and attention (*f*), but in the discourse spoke with great freedom of the Papal court, the corruptions and abominations there practised. The very hu-

(*a*) Annal. Burton. p. 328.

(*b*) The bishop went thither with Richard earl of Cornwall, in the beginning of the year 1250. M. Paris, p. 772; and, as is supposed, on account of his embroilment with the king, as mentioned above. Rapin, p. 354.

(*c*) Brown, p. 47.

(*d*) H. Knighton, as Mr. Brown observes, p. 400, has confounded this sermon with the bishop's exhortatory epistle to the pope. See Decem Scriptores, col. 2436. The Annals of Lanercost allude to this sermon, p. 341; and it is cited by Wickliff, *de Vita Sacerdotum*, MS. in Bibl. Bodl. In Gunton's Antiq. Petrib. p. 220, it is said to have been *preached*, but this a mistake. It was never applauded by John Huf. Brown, Ded. to Fasciculus Rerum expetend. & fugiend.

(*e*) Quære, Robert, meaning Robert de Marisco; for, see above, p. 172.

(*f*) Brown, p. 250.

miliating,

miliating, though undeserved, treatment, which a prelate, conscious of his own superior merit, had lately received from a worthless haughty pontif, had at last, it seems, opened his eyes. He observed how inept, remiss, and negligent, the parochial clergy were, and laid all the fault upon the court of Rome, ‘non
 ‘solum eò quòd hæc mala non dissipat, et has abomina-
 ‘tiones non purgat, cum ea sola hoc maxime possit, et ad hoc
 ‘summè teneatur, sed et eò ampliùs, quòd IPSA quoque per
 ‘suas *dispensationes et provisiones, et collationes curæ pastoralis,*
 ‘tales, quales præacti sunt, pastores, imò mundi perditores,
 ‘in oculis solis hujus constituit, ut provident vitæ unius alicujus
 ‘temporali, multa millia animarum, pro quarum qualibet
 ‘sempiternè vivificandâ Filius Dei morte turpissima voluit
 ‘condemnari, devorationi omnium bestiarum agri tradit et sem-
 ‘piternæ morti. Tradens enim curam ovilis et gregis, in medio
 ‘luporum rapacissimorum, urforum et leonum, alicui, ut lac
 ‘et lanam tollat, *impotenti aut ignorant, aut nolenti, aut negligent*
 ‘*gregem educere et in pascua minare (a)* et in ovile reducere,
 ‘leonibus urfis et lupis nec ad modicum pro salute gregis se
 ‘objicienti, nonne gregem tradit devorationi et morti, et mortis
 ‘ipsius reatu tenetur, etiamsi accidat ovium aliquam casu for-
 ‘tuito mortem effugere (b)?’ He then inveighed particularly
 against appropriations of churches to religious houses, the ex-
 emptions of those houses from the episcopal jurisdiction, the
 suppression of the oath ex officio, the appeals (c) to his holiness
 by the religious, and to the archbishop by the laity, and the

(a) i. e. ducere; a *minis* vel increpationibus bubulcorum jumenta ad cursum incitantium. Vide Brown ad loc. Also Dugd. Mon. II. p. 627. Orderic. Vital. pp. 509, 546, 701.

(b) Brown, Fascic. II. p. 252.

(c) These appeals were often made for mere trifles. Annal. Dunstap. pp. 461, 105.

scandalous clause in the bulls of *Non Obstante*. He then approached that court with exciting wars, with bribery and corruption, and at last specified his holiness's granting to archbishop Boniface an enjoyment of one year's profit of all vacant benefices in his province, under the pretence of discharging the debts of the see of Canterbury, which he observed, was able to deliver it from the incumbrance (a).

The annals of Lanercoft pretend, that the bishop resigned his see to the court of Rome at this time; 'Ac curam itidem pastoralis resignaverit, nec pro eâ recipiendâ aliquid juxta morem corruptum fratribus curiæ offerre voluerit. Unde *gloriosum Anglicum* avari illi eum vocaverunt.' I apprehend there is no truth in this: but, certainly, he had great good fortune in escaping with life, after using all this boldness and plain-dealing in respect of the errors and vices of the pope and his ministers; and that he did not meet with the fate of Arnulphus the preacher, who, about a century before, as Platina relates, was murdered at Rome by the procurement of the priests, for his invective against their incontinence and sensuality, and for reproving their pompous living and insatiable appetite after wealth. To such an height did their envy and fury rise against him, though by the nobility and gentry he was esteemed to be a pious and good man (b).

The bishop, after continuing many months at Lyons, returned to England about Michaelmas, much dejected, and with an empty purse. The religious also (c) had suffered with him

(a) This however was no unusual method of raising money for a diocesan, and on this pretence of debt. Wharton, Ang. Sac. l. p. 410: but see above, in 1246, 1247.

(b) Platina, p. 234.

(c) See p. 171.

Both in regard to trouble and expence. And now his lordship, reflecting on the manifest ruin and desolation imminent on the whole Christian church, which it was utterly out of his power to prevent, had thoughts of withdrawing himself from the cares of his large diocese, after the example of his friend Nicholas de Fernham, in order to be more at leisure for contemplation, study, and prayer. He accordingly committed all the ordinary business of the see to his official, Robert de Marisco (*a*), intending to bid farewell to the world, and to resign his bishoprick (*b*). But recollecting the ravages which the king would certainly make upon the episcopal estate on such an event; and, perhaps, procure some unworthy person to succeed him, he kept his design to himself, and resolved to wait a little longer, without coming to any certain conclusion (*c*). It was upon this, probably, or some other like depression of mind, that the bishop conceived the design of enrolling himself amongst the friars. His spirits, however, revived afterwards, and he exerted himself vigorously both in parliament, and in matters ecclesiastical.

About this time, the great earl Warren, under a pretext of bodily infirmity, caused his chaplain to celebrate mass in his hall, or eating-room, at *Graham*; which coming to the knowledge of the bishop, he, being a man of spirit, and who had no respect of persons, cited both the earl and his chaplain (suspending the latter at the same time), to answer for this notorious instance of irregularity.

(*a*) See M. Paris, in *Additamentis*, p. 225.

(*b*) This was often done in these times. See Le Neve, *Fasti*, pp. 25, 56, 109. Walter Mauclerc, Nic. Fernham, &c. See *Memoirs of Roger de Weseham*, p. 43. Newcourt, I. p. 13.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 802.

The earl was highly offended with this bold step of the prelate, and wrote harshly to him upon it; but the bishop, nevertheless, persisted in the measure, alledging, that he had suspended the chaplain for contumacy, and that as to his lordship, it was in fact affording him an opportunity of clearing and exculpating himself; and, lastly, he desired him to believe, that he had no other motive for the citation, but the discharge of his duty, and the sincere regard he had for his (the earl's) salvation (a).

The nation now abounded with grievances and complaints; all ranks of people, both clergy and laity, crying out, some against the pope, and others against the king. Bishop Grosseteste, for his part, had very high notions of the liberties and privileges of the clergy, and he thought this body to be in many instances much injured and oppressed by the crown. He had formerly directed Robert de Marisco, archdeacon of Oxford, a good canonist, and a man of business, to compile a code of the rights and immunities of the clergy (b). And on the ground and foundation of the collection made by the archdeacon, which is preserved by the annalist of Burton (c), the bishop, as I conjecture, composed his list of grievances respecting the clergy of this kingdom; and I know not whitherto to refer this list more properly than to this place. The title runs,
 ‘ Isti Articuli per Dominum Robertum quondam *Lincolniensem*
 ‘ Episcopum fuerunt confecti super gravaminibus prænotatis (d)
 ‘ contra Libertates Ecclesiæ per Dominum Regem in regno

(a) Brown, Fascic. II. p. 345.

(b) See p. 133.

(c) Annal. Burton. p. 398. where it is intituled, ‘ Privilegium Clericorum a Canone excerptum per magistrum Robertum de Marisco, de præcepto et ad instantiam Roberti Lincolniensis Episcopi.’

(d) Meaning the provisions of *Merton* immediately ~~then~~ preceding.

* *Angliæ factis* (a). Whence it appears, that the paper had been long drawn up, but was produced, though not perhaps for the first time, on occasion of the convocation of the clergy at Merton, A. 1258. However the bishop states in this piece, that the priesthood was superior to the civil magistrate, according to the notion he had imbibed from the testaments of the twelve patriarchs (b); and, in fine, soars so high in his ideas concerning the privileges and prerogatives of the clerical order, that he even leaves archbishop Becket far behind him.

The bishop was always jealous of the loose conduct of the monks and nuns. And he began a personal visitation, this year, of the religious houses in his diocese, which were very numerous, with great strictness and severity. At Ramsey he went himself into the dormitory, attended by his officers, and examined the beds; he then went through the whole house, and, if he found any place shut up and fastened, caused it to be opened; and if, in rummaging the repositories, he saw any cups with feet or circles round the edges (c), he broke them and trod upon them, whereas it might have been more prudent, says my author, to have given them to the poor. At the nunneries he caused the breasts of the nuns to be pressed, to try if there were any milk in them. He denounced withal heavy sentences and curses, in the words of Moses, against such of the religious as should break their statutes, accumulating the blessings of that prophet upon those who should exactly observe

(a) *Annal. Burton.* p. 396.

(b) See Appendix, N° XII.

(c) Of silver, we will suppose. They are called *pretiosas* in M. Paris, *Additament.* p. 229. See *Gul. Pict.* p. 211. for drinking-horns so garnished. A cup with a foot was not allowed at St. Alban's to be used in the hall, excepting in *majori mensâ.* M. Paris, *Addit.* p. 148.

them.

them (*a*). The Monkish historian, however, acknowledges, that the bishop did all this with the best intentions (*b*); and indeed the proceeding was consonant to his general character.

The bishop was equally strict in visiting the rest of his diocese this year, obliging the beneficed clergy to continence, as he was remarkably chaste himself (*c*), by removing all suspected women from their abodes, and punishing offenders by deprivation (*d*). He induced many of them again at this time by motives of various kinds, lenient and harsh, to take upon them the order of priesthood, which hitherto they had neglected doing, as choosing to continue in the lower orders, and to frequent the schools (*e*), though expressly contrary to the canons (*f*). He often preached to the people in his perambulation, and obliged the neighbouring clergy to attend the sermons (*g*). The business of compelling the clergy to enter the order of priesthood did not end easily (*h*).

But the Romans, who had procured the pope's letters for *provisions*, were the objects of his lordship's greatest detestation; for he said, "if he should commit the care of souls to them, he should be the friend of Satan;" Upon such principles he would often, with indignation, cast the bulls out of his hand, and absolutely refuse to comply with them (*i*). He was suspended

(*a*) Deut. xxvii. xxviii.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 815.

(*c*) See the testimony of the cardinals below.

(*d*) See the year 1250; and the Articles of Visitation in Appendix, N° V.

(*e*) *Scholas exercere*; for which phrase see annotation on N° V. in the Appendix.

(*f*) M. Paris, p. 825.

(*g*) Ibidem, p. 826.

(*h*) See under the year 1252.

(*i*) It is said, indeed, Rapin, p. 355. that the bishop paid no regard to the sentence, but continued his episcopal functions; but I think he would not have been permitted to officiate so solemnly at Hales, if he had laboured under this blot. And therefore I should rather suppose the sentence was revoked.

soon after for disobeying a papal mandate of this kind. For, Innocent, persisting in his old courses, notwithstanding all the fair promises and assurances he had given to the contrary, commanded the bishop to admit an Italian, entirely ignorant of the English language, to a rich benefice in his diocese, but he, refusing to comply, was suspended for it the Lent following (*a*). This sentence, however, seems to have been soon relaxed, as we find the bishop singing high mass at Hales the same year (*b*). This grievance was intolerable (*c*), and big with all kind of evil, as is well expressed by the king himself. In benefices filled by Italians, he says, ‘Nec jura, nec pauperum sustentatio, nec hospitalitas (*d*), nec divini verbi prædicatio, nec ecclesiarum utilis ornatus, nec animarum cura, nec in ecclesiis divina fiunt obsequia, prout decet, et moris est patriæ, sed in ædificijs suis parietes cum tectis corruunt, et penitus lacerantur (*e*).’ What was worst, Italians succeeded Italians; for, as these foreign incumbents died abroad, successors were appointed before the

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 816.

(*b*) See Appendix, N° VI. Art. 27.

(*c*) At one time the pope exacted two prebends in each church, and provision for two monks in each monastery, M. Paris, p. 328. The same was done in France, p. 330. At another time three hundred benefices for his Italians, p. 532. but, quere, if in the former case the *value* only of two prebends be not intended? Otto, however, himself preferred many of his retinue. Parker, p. 252. For the affair of Sir Robert Thwenge, see M. Paris, p. 512. seq.

(*d*) Hospitality and almsgiving was a serious and very commendable article of religion in the early times of the English church; for, not to mention the almonry in the monasteries, and the accommodations there for the reception of the better sort of strangers, one third of the goods of the church was to be distributed amongst the poor. Bede, p. 62. And, partly on this ground, residence of the clergy was required by the latter injunctions. See Appendix, N° VI. art. 28. Indeed the more indigent poor were universally supported by alms given at the door before the Reformation; and even at this day there are still large remains of this mode of relief in some places, notwithstanding the statutable provisions.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 699, seq.

patrons here knew of the vacancy of their benefices (*a*). M. Paris, in an apostrophe to the pope, asks his holiness a shrewd and very poignant question on this subject; ‘*Ubinam scitur Anglicus aliquis redditum habere in partibus Romæ, Italie, Januæ*’ (*b*), ‘*vel regnorum aliorum, cum tales in Anglia rapiant universa?* O Deus ultionum domine, quando exacies ut fulgur gladium, ut cruore talium inebrietur (*c*).’ See him again, p. 622. seq. So that even the regulars, who must be supposed to have much less regard for the pastoral care than the bishops, complained heavily of the evil and mischief of this imposition; and Matthew, in the place last quoted, makes a remark of a very singular nature in reference to this matter, that, in case the patrons of churches should fall into want or decay, the incumbents presented by them were obliged to support them. I shall only add, as not impertinent to the purpose, that in 1251, we had three foreigners bishops here, archbishop Boniface, Peter de Equeblanc of Hereford, and Ethelmar elect of Winchester (*d*). It is suggested, indeed, that these Anglicised Italians contributed probably to propagate philological literature amongst us (*e*); but this, I apprehend, was far from being the case, as the Italians here preferred were generally boys, mere novices, or retainers of the pope’s agents, and consequently were promoted not for any personal merit or learning of their own, but entirely for the sake of furnishing them with a maintenance.

Richard earl of Cornwall, in pursuance of a vow he had made when in imminent danger at sea, founded the Cistercian abbey

(*a*) Idem, pp. 667. 699.

(*b*) Innocent IV. was a Genoese.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 802.

(*d*) M. Paris, p. 896.

(*e*) Mr. Warton, Hist. of English Poetry, Dissert. II. p. cxliii.

at Hales in Gloucestershire (*a*). The dedication of the church at this place to St. Mary, 5 Nov. 1251 (*b*), was a very expensive ceremony to the earl, when, with the king, queen, and nobles, and no less than 390 knights, there were thirteen bishops present, who celebrated at different altars, whilst bishop Grosseteste sang mass, in the most solemn manner, at the high altar (*c*). This immense, noble, and princely company were all entertained with incredible state and plenty, and the earl let fall, on the occasion, this generous and devout expression, 'I wish it had pleased God that all my great expences on my castle of Walingford had been as wisely and soberly employed!' After the whole ceremony was over, he gave the monks one thousand marks to purchase lands or build houses; and the king, by charter, settled on them the yearly rent of twenty pounds (*d*). It was usual, on dedications, for the great persons present to make donations of lands, &c. as the earl here did. And that this great earl held our prelate in the highest esteem appears from his going in pilgrimage to his tomb, very soon after his death (*e*).

No prelate was ever more attentive to the pastoral office than bishop Grosseteste, nor took more pains to have the parochial churches well supplied. Wherefore, observing that churches appropriated to religious houses had not always vicarages en-

(*a*) M. Paris, pp. 710. 712. 770. 827. Tanner, Notitia. Here was the famous relick of Christ's blood; see Somn. p. 193. and John Ross, p. 199. Lambarde Top. Dict. p. 146. The building, which cost 10,000 marks, was begun in 1246. Tanner, and Gibson's Camden, col. 282; and the body of the founder was here interred. M. Paris, p. 1007.

(*b*) *Lego Non. Novembris* for *novi*, in M. Paris, it being the day before St. Leonard, on 6 Nov. as he expressly says.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 827.

(*d*) Kennet, Par. Ant. p. 244.

(*e*) See below.

dowed, and where vicarages existed, yet they were often but meanly provided, he obtained a bull to empower him to regulate both these matters, and his power extended even to the benefices of the greater and exempt monasteries (*a*), which was extraordinary in the case, and probably the ground of the bull, as the diocesan was otherwise, and of his ordinary jurisdiction, invested with an authority of regulating such matters. The historian attributes the bishop's vigilance and activity in this business to the hatred of the monks, and a propensity to lessen their revenues, rather than to a better motive, or any true regard he had to the vicars; and he complains of the grievances which the monks underwent from him on this occasion. But, certainly, we have no reason to ascribe a proceeding so salutary and necessary, and naturally an essential part of his duty, to a sinister cause, especially as these regulations concerned the collegiate churches as well as the monasteries. It was upon the same principle that the good bishop conceived his aversion, and set himself in opposition, to the Romans and Italians here preferred, because, being unacquainted with our affairs and our language, they could be of no use to the flocks. It appears plainly, from the nature of the bishop's application to the holy see, that the religious houses made as short an allowance as possible to their vicars, and looked upon every thing allotted to them as a defalcation from their incomes; whence it is easy to imagine, that their vicarages were but scantily endowed, and that there must be abundant room for the diocesans to increase their appointments. His lordship's inter-

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 840. places it A. 1282, but the bull was dated at Lyons, 25 Sept. 8th year of Innocent's Pontificate, or 1250. See Wilkins, p. 699. The Popes were never shy in issuing these bulls, because they were commonly followed by appeals.

position

position again was highly seasonable; for at this time, under pretence of enabling the religious houses to maintain hospitality, &c.—churches were almost daily appropriated (*a*). In consequence, however, of this bull, the vicarage of St. Peter's at St. Alban's, and of St. Michael at Kingsbury, were ordained (*b*); and, as I think, the vicarage of Stodham, belonging to the priory of Dunstable, was augmented; though this was afterwards reduced to the old endowment (*c*). Hence, however, one may rationally suppose many other vicarages in the diocese were now regulated.

The bishop in the latter part of his life commented upon the Psalter, but did not live to finish his work: '*Psalterium pos-*
' *tillavit usque ad medium, nec ulterius licuit ob vitæ termi-*
' *num* (*d*). So that it probably was about this time that he began this task.

Simon de Hunton, the magnificent prior of Spalding, died 14 March, 1252-3. The house was formerly a cell to Angiers in France, but by the activity of Simon was made independent and indigenious. This prior entertained the king and his nobles at his house in London, and, to obtain that honour, distributed considerable presents amongst the king's favourites. This gave great offence to the bishop of Lincoln, on account, no doubt, of the waste that was made of the effects of the priory, inasmuch that his lordship was strongly disposed to de-

(*a*) Robert de Sotindon, one of the king's clerks, A. 1253, gave three rectories, one of 300 marks, another of 100, and a third of 60 marks yearly value, to the abbey of St. Alban's, Battle Abbey in Suffex, and the Knights Hospitalars of Dover. M. Paris, p. 872.

(*b*) M. Paris, in Vit. p. 100.

(*c*) Annal. Dunstap. p. 312. See M. Paris, in Vit. p. 103, for this place.

(*d*) Dr. Tho. Gascoigne in Tanner's Biblioth. p. 349.

pose him; however, he did not do that (*a*), Hunton's case being less enormous than that of *Hotot* above (*b*).

As benefices could be conferred at this time on deacons and sub-deacons, the incumbents, when once they had been instituted or collated to them, were very tardy in offering themselves for priests orders (*c*), though they were required to do it (*d*). Bishop Grosseteste, in order to rectify this irregularity, which prevailed much in his large and extensive diocese, was very urgent with those refractory clerks, by his admonition, and even by an injunction, to take the necessary order of priesthood. They, however, combined together to oppose and withstand this act of salutary discipline, and for that purpose made a purse, and sent a considerable sum to Rome, to procure the pope's leave to continue in their present state, and to frequent the schools for some years longer (*e*); and this present had the desired effect with that venal court, so that his lordship's commendable design was frustrated (*f*).

Richard de Thony, or Teoni, treasurer of Anjou, an ecclesiastic, died this year; he was of the blood-royal of Scotland, and full brother of that noble knight Ralph de Thony (*g*). Ri-

(*a*) Chron. Petrib. p. 112.

(*b*) P. 168.

(*c*) See above, ann. 1251. Fox, Martyr. I. p. 370.

(*d*) Thus in the year 1290, a subdeacon was deprived by Oliver Sutton, 5 Kal. Aug. Pontific. 11, 'quia non fit Presbyter infra annum;' but was presented and admitted again, 8 Id. Dec. Pontificat 12. I suppose on his compliance (MS note in bishop Kennet's own copy of Par. Ant. now in the possession of Richard Gough, esq; p. 315); and this was a common practice, for in the same year mag'r William de Chaddehunt was *re-presented*, by the prior and convent of Kenilworth, to the church of Hethe, vacant 'quia idem Willus non fuit Presbyter infra annum.' Ibid.

(*e*) Sine sacerdotio scholas exercere. M. Paris. The expression here is singular; but we are told before, that the parties were *beneficed* clerks; and see annotation, N^o V. in the Appendix.

(*f*) M. Paris, p. 833.

(*g*) See Sir Henry Chauncey, p. 564, for this family. Ralph was a person of large possessions in England, France, and Scotland.

chard's preferments becoming vacant by his death, and amongst the rest the church of Flamstead in Hertfordshire, not far from St. Alban's, the queen, to whom the king had granted the wardship of the young son of Ralph de Thony (*a*), to whose patronage the church of Flamstead, worth 100 marks per annum, belonged, presented William her chaplain, rector of Kenebel (*b*), to it, thinking she had a right so to do. The king, however, was highly displeased, and disannulling the queen's act, gave the living to one Hurtold, or Hertold, a Burgundian, one of his clerks or counsellors, and treasurer of his chamber, who immediately got corporal possession of it. The queen, on her part, was greatly offended; and when news was brought of the proceeding to bishop Grosseteste, the diocesan, he, espousing the juster and weaker side, excommunicated Hurtold, so little did he regard the regal authority in these matters, and afterwards put the church of Flamstead under an interdict, so that no funerals were permitted there (*c*). The bishop would never suffer a foreigner, if he could help it, to be minister of an English parish.

In the beginning of October, when almost all the prelates were assembled at London against St. Edward's day, a festival which the king always kept with the greatest solemnity, the

(*a*) Sir William Dugdale (Baron. I. p. 470,) says, the tuition was committed to Humphry Bohun, earl of Essex and Hereford. Perhaps the queen might grant it secondarily to the earl.

(*b*) Kenebella. Dr. Salmon (Hertfordshire, p. 142) is inclined to think that the church of *Kenebell* here mentioned, and in the *Monasticon*, I. p. 180, "*ecclesiam de Hereveredune, & ecclesiam de Kenebella cum adjacente terra*," given for the support of the poor, and confirmed by pope Honorius, 1218, might possibly be that part of Harpenden parish which is still called *Annabuls*, a person of which name was buried at Harpenden in the reign of Henry VI. May it not have been the neighbouring parish of *Kensworth*, which is no great distance from Harpenden?

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 839, 957.

king convened them together, and communicated to them a mandate of the pope's, by which a tenth of the Church's revenue was granted to himself for three years, in order to his equipment for the crusade (*a*); and what gave greater offence, the money was to be collected, not according to the former *valor*, but to a new estimate to be made, upon the strictest scrutiny, by the king's servants and emissaries. The king's clerks, on producing the bull, took it for granted, such was their artifice, that the prelates had instantly complied, and demanded, that after the money had been paid for two years, the sum to be collected the third year, or at least half of it, should be put into the king's hand immediately before he set sail, and then, said they, his highness will proceed towards the East.

The king's sincerity in taking the cross was doubted from the beginning; wise and sagacious people ever imagined, that he only meant it as an artifice or pretence to be occasionally used for the purpose of extorting money from the subject (*b*). And, to say truth, he had so many quirks and tricks, that those suspicions were but too well founded. And bishop Groffeteste replied accordingly to the king's messengers, with great warmth and spirit, 'Blessed Lady, what is this I hear? You are too hasty in your conclusions. Can you imagine we shall ever assent to such an accursed contribution? thus bend the knee to Baal?' Ethelmer, bishop elect of Winchester, the king's half-brother (*c*), answered him by saying, 'But how shall we be able to withstand the pope's and the king's will? The

(*a*) He took the cross in 1250. Rapin, p. 321.

(*b*) See M. Paris, p. 850. The money was afterwards diverted to the business of Sicily. Annal. Burton. p. 350; and the expedition at last devolved on his son Edward. Brady, Hist. in Appendix, p. 249.

(*c*) He was both young and illiterate. See of him. Allan, Collection. Dun. p. 13.

‘ French have consented to a like subsidy, to enable their king
‘ to go on his expedition. They are stronger than we, and are
‘ more apt to revolt.’ Grosseteste returned, with much force
and energy; ‘ We ought to refuse for that very reason you
‘ mention, that the French have complied; for, a repeated act
‘ will make a custom. And, O Misery! we see plainly enough,
‘ what an unhappy issue the French king’s tyrannical extortion
‘ of money has had; let us be warned by the example; and,
‘ therefore, that neither the king, nor we, may incur the di-
‘ vine wrath, I shall speak freely for my part, and oppose this
‘ contribution.’ The bishops instantly all agreed to this, except
the bishop of Salisbury, who seemed to hesitate; and then
Grosseteste added, ‘ Let us join in petitioning his highness to
‘ have regard to the salvation of his own soul, by desisting from
‘ such rash attempts.’

The king was most furiously enraged when this was reported
to him, stormed, and drove every body out of the room; but,
being afterwards pacified by his confidants, he sent to the bishops,
and told them, ‘ That as a suppliant, as an intended warrior of
‘ Jesus Christ in the Holy Land, and as one bound thither for
‘ the honour of the Catholic Church, he *begged* a competent
‘ benevolence from them, and not as an imperious master, or
‘ as relying at all on the mandate of the pope.’ And thus, to
make short, the bishops were at last induced to comply upon
terms; that he would conform henceforward to Magna Charta; sign
a new act, to assure them the present subsidy should not be drawn
into a precedent; and the money be applied to the sole purpose
for which it was granted. The king upon this was, if possible,
more provoked than ever; but at length sent to the prelates to
know preremptorily, whether they would remit him any other
answer? And they, that they might not seem refractory in
C c giving

giving a flat denial, sent word back, that they could not come to a full and perfect conclusion without the judgement and consent of the two archbishops, who were both of them absent. The king, after this, applied to the nobles for succours; but they said, their answer must depend upon that of the prelates, for they should not disagree with them. The event was, that the matter was left in suspense, and the nobles and prelates dispersed, leaving the king equally incensed against both (*a*).

One intolerable mode of depredation, exercised by the popes upon this land, was by remunerating their Roman and Italian dependants with the church benefices. This scandalous enormity had grown to such an height, that, in the year 1244, these foreigners, it is observed, were possessed of not less than 10,000 marks per annum, which was more than equal to the revenue of the crown (*b*). And in 1252 our bishop caused his clerks to make a calculation of the rents and emoluments enjoyed by alien ecclesiastics in the kingdom; and it was found, upon a real and true state of the case, that the present pope Innocent IV. had contributed more to the impoverishment of the church than all the former pontiffs taken together (*c*); and that the rents of the stranger clerks amounted to above 70,000 marks, when the king's income, meaning his rental, exclusive of contingencies, did not arise to a third part of that sum (*d*). As there had been an increase of 10,000 marks in eight years time, this was apparently a growing evil; and the pope's palliative concession, mentioned above (*e*), did not in the least contribute to remedy it.

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 849, seq.

(*b*) Ib. pp. 658, 667. This enquiry was set on foot by the king.

(*c*) His attempt of this kind at Lyons is mentioned by M. Parker, p. 269, from M. Paris, p. 658.

(*d*) M. Paris, p. 859.

(*e*) Page 150, under the year 1246.

In January, 1253, Innocent ordered his nephew, an Italian youth, to be invested with a canonry of Lincoln. His name was Frederic de Lavania, and by *provision* (a), for this was the term, he was to be accommodated with a prebend in that church, and the pope had written to bishop Grosseteste to give him the first that should fall, declaring, that any other disposal of such prebend should be null and void, and excommunicating all those who should obstruct or oppose him in that measure. He then wrote to the archdeacon of Canterbury, who by the way was an Italian (b), and to one Mr. Innocent, another Italian, his agent here, to see this business completed (c), with a clause of *non obstante* (d); and to cite all contraveners to appear before him without any manner of plea or excuse, and under another clause of *non obstante*, in two months time.

Bishop Grosseteste wrote immediately to the pope upon the receipt of his holiness's letter, or at least to the abovementioned delegates (e), in the most resolute and spirited terms (f), almost retorting, as Mr. Brown observes, *excommunication for excom-*

(a) See, for the beginning of these provisions, Wilkins, I. p. 558, under the year 1225.

(b) Either Stephen de Vicenna or Ottoboni.

(c) The Annals of Burton style this instrument 'Littera papalis Deo odibilis et hominibus,' p. 405. See Knighton, col. 2436.

(d) These clauses were most horrible; all customs, statutes, confirmations of the Holy See, or any other pretences, being superseded, and obliged to give way unto them. M. Parker, pp. 270, 271, 275. Rapin, I. p. 319. Lord Lyttelton, III. p. 451. They became a public grievance, and were complained of in 1245. M. Paris, pp. 668, 669. Brown, pp. 399, 257. They were also infectious, for the king took them up, in his necessities, and vouched the pope's example. M. Paris, pp. 783, 810, 854. Rapin, p. 324.

(e) Brown, Fascic. p. 400. Wood, p. 82. Annal. Burton, p. 328.

(f) H. Knighton calls it *Epistola satis tonans*, col. 2346.

munication (a). This epistle, of which we have many copies now extant, both in manuscript and printed (b), is a most celebrated performance, and has both immortalized the bishop's memory, and endeared it to all generations. The bishop insists, that the Papal mandates cannot be repugnant to the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, and that, therefore, the tenor of his holiness's epistles was not consonant to the sanctity of the Holy See, on account of the accumulated clauses of *non obstante*. Then, that no sin can be more adverse to the doctrine of the Apostles, more abominable to Jesus Christ, or more hurtful to mankind, than to defraud and rob those souls, which ought to be the objects of the pastoral care, of that instruction which by the Scriptures they have a right to, &c. Hence he infers, that the Holy See, destined to edify, and not to destroy, cannot possibly incur a sin of this kind; and that no one, that is not an excommunicate, ought to obey any such absurd mandate, though an angel from heaven should command him, but rather to revolt and oppose them; wherefore, says he, 'I, for my part, *filialiter et obedienter non obedio, sed contradico et rebello*,' insisting, that this his proceeding, *nec contradictio est nec rebellio*, in respect of his holiness, *sed filialis divino mandato debita patri et matri honoratio*. So he concludes, that, as the Holy See can enjoin nothing but what tends to edification, these *provisions* were not of that salutary, but of a

(a) Which was no more than the archbishop of Antioch had done in 1238. M. Paris, p. 481. This, I apprehend, is what is called, 'Tonitruum Lincoln. contra Curiam Ro.' in Leland's Collect. IV. p. 54; and in Tanner, p. 348; as also in Bale.

(b) The bishop's letter is extant in MS. in the Cotton Library, in Trinity College Cambridge, and is printed in M. Paris, p. 870. In the Annals of Burton, p. 326; and in Brown, II. p. 400. There is a translation in Fox (with the original), p. 418, and a more modern one in Collier. Eccl. Hist. I. p. 460; and Rapin, p. 355. See p. 204, Note a.

destruc-

destructive, nature, springing from fleshly lusts, and not from our Father which is in heaven (*a*).

The pope, on receiving this flat denial, which he little expected, and this biting remonstrance, which implied much more than was expressed; fell into a most furious passion, exclaiming, with a stern countenance, and with all the pride of Lucifer, ‘Who is this old dotard, deaf, and absurd, that thus rashly presumes to judge of my actions? By Peter and Paul, if the goodness of my own heart did not restrain me (*b*), I should so chastise him, as to make him an example and a spectacle to all the world. Is not the king of England my vassal, my slave, and, for a word speaking, would throw him in prison, and load him with infamy and disgrace?’ And, when the cardinals interposed, they had much ado to mollify him, by telling him, ‘It was little for his interest to think of animadverting on the bishop; since, as they all must own, what he said was true, and that they could not condemn or blame him, &c.’ giving the bishop, at the same time, a most noble testimony, in respect of his piety, his learning, and his general character, as acknowledged by all the world; in all which, they confessed frankly, they were none of them to be compared to him (*c*). The pope, however, excommunicated the bishop (*d*), and even

(*a*) See the substance of this famous letter in Du Pin, vol. XI. p. 62, seq.

(*b*) Were it not for the respect I have for *his* ingenuity. Du Pin, p. 63; but the words in Matthew are *nisi moveret nos innata ingenuitas*.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 872. The honourable ingenuous acknowledgement of the cardinals, at this time, shall be given at length in another place. One thing is very remarkable; at the close of their representation they told the pope, ‘Scitur quod quandoque *discessio* est ventura,’ that some time there would be a falling away from them, in other words, a Reformation, as was foreseen by many others also. See Mr. Warton’s History of English Poetry, p. 282. Fox’s Martyrol. II. p. 57, seq.

(*d*) H. Knighton, inter X Scriptores, col. 2346. And see below.

named

named a successor to his see (*a*). The bishop, on his part, appealed from the sentence to the tribunal of Christ (*b*), after which he troubled himself no more about it, but died composedly in his bed.

As to these provisions, as they were called (*c*), to bestow a word upon them, the popes, under a plausible but fallacious pretext, of preventing any evil or mischief that might accrue to churches, or other benefices, from long vacancies, would dispose of them, such was their abundant care, before-hand; by which means they not only encroached upon the rights of all kinds of patrons, of private persons, monasteries, bishops, and even of the sovereigns themselves; but also, as this was a contrivance devised for the rewarding and enriching their own creatures, filled the benefices with young and illiterate, as in the present case, and generally with very unworthy clerks, who were mostly absent, or, if here, understood not one word of the language of their respective flocks. It was an insupportable grievance, though of some standing (*d*); and became a perpetual subject of complaint for a long time after this, many statutes having been enacted against it (*e*). Bishop Grossetestes

(*a*) Albert, one of his nuncios, 'Qui,' says bishop Tanner, Biblioth. p. 19, 'per infensissimum dicti Innocentii odium adversus Rob. Grossetestum, eo nondum mortuo, nominatus est episcopus Lincolnienfis,' was the person, who, in the pope's name, offered to Richard, earl of Cornwall, the kingdom of Arabia. Kennet, Par. Ant. p. 247.

(*b*) Boston of Bury seems to say the bishop was called to Rome on the occasion. Præf. ad Tanneri Biblioth. p. xxxvii. and see Caxton, in the Polychronicon, fol. cccv. b. and Knighton, col. 2436. But this, I think, is not true, the older authors being silent. John Fox relates, that Henry, archbishop of Mentz, cited two cardinal legates, who had wrongfully deposed him about the year 1105, to appear in like manner before the judgement-seat of Christ. Fox, Martyr. I. p. 254.

(*c*) They were also termed *Gratiæ expectativæ*, or *mandata de providendo*.

(*d*) See note *e* page 194.

(*e*) See Blount's Νομολεξικον, v. Provision.

remonstrance, however, had this good effect, that it caused Innocent to apologize for his conduct in this particular, by sending a number of bulls to England, wherein he acknowledges his error, laying the fault upon the times, and confessing his weakness in being overpowered by importunate solicitors, and promises to correct it (*a*).

A parliament was held this year in April, and bishop Grosseteste, with almost all the prelates, attended. The king demanded a vast subsidy towards his expedition to the Holy Land; and the bishops granted him now a tenth for three years, and the nobles a scutage for that year of three marks; and the king, on his part, promised faithfully to keep and observe all the articles of Magna Charta. The archbishops then, and bishops, proceeded to excommunicate, in form, all the infringers of Magna Charta, and Charta de Foresta (*b*). And bishop Grosseteste, it is observed, on his return home, apprehensive that the king would falsify his word and promise, had the sentence renewed in every church of his diocese, against all infractors, and particularly all priests (*c*). But now, as M. Paris observes, all this thunder excited but little terror; much, indeed, could not be expected from such vague and general censures. As for the king, he revolted, as the bishop, who was well acquainted with his instability, foresaw he would (*d*), and he did it by calling in the aid and assistance of the pope, and putting himself under his wing (*e*).

(*a*) See the bull in Annal. Burton, p. 328.

(*b*) The sentence of excommunication was prostituted to all kinds of secular purposes, and often for very trivial matters.

(*c*) M. Paris, pp. 865, seq. 872.

(*d*) Idem, p. 867.

(*e*) Idem, pp. 867, 868, 872, 895.

And now Innocent IV. that great master of artifice and cunning, projected a scheme of visiting the religious houses, and ordered our prelates to visit those of their respective dioceses. He required the black monks, by his injunctions, to observe certain superfluous regulations not included in the rule of their order, and which they were not obligated to by their vow (*a*). The French Benedictines bought themselves off by a large sum of money paid to the pope: and here the abbat and convent of St. Alban's appealed to his holiness against bishop Groffeteste's visiting them, because, being exempt from his jurisdiction, it would be to the prejudice of their privilege (*b*). In this they are by no means to be blamed, since, by an express and authentic stipulation, they had purchased an exemption so long ago as the prelacy of Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln. The pope, it is plain, had no other view in promoting this inquisition, but to compel the religious, by the novelty, the disagreeableness, and, perhaps, the hardship of his ordinances, to advance money, for the purpose of delivering themselves from them; or else to cause them to appeal, as was the case here, by which he was sure to get money from both parties. As bishop Groffeteste died so soon after, the present matter, I apprehend, was terminated by that event; but, if he had lived, I am of opinion he would not have been very active in the affair, after the scurvy trick Innocent playd him in 1250.

The Montforts, earls of Leicester, figured so greatly in this century, that something more is due to the splendour of this family, and the greatness of the name, than what has been mentioned above (*c*); especially as bishop Groffeteste appears to

(*a*) Vide Additament. ad M. Paris, p. 228, seq.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 868.

(*c*) See on the year 1238.

have

have been intimately connected with this illustrious house (*a*). They were originally of French extraction, and Almaric having built Mountfort in that kingdom, they took their name thence. Earl Simon, the Bald, married Amice, eldest sister and coheir of Robert Fitz-Pernell, earl of Leicester, and 8 John, 1206, was created in her right earl of Leicester, and made high steward of England; but afterwards both he, and his second son Simon, were banished the kingdom for opposing the king, and allying themselves with the French. He went accordingly to France, and when Louis, the dauphin, went against the Albigenes in 1219, Simon, the father, had a principal command in the army, but was slain before the gate of Tholouse by a stone discharged from an engine (*b*); and his brother Almaric had the like fate before a castle not far distant (*c*). The Albigenes, who had spread themselves into the province of Languedoc, were a people desirous of reforming the many abuses which had crept into the communion of the church of Rome, and, consequently, being looked upon as detestable Hereticks by the Romanists, an expedition against them was deemed to have all the merit of a crusade (*d*), and all those who lost their lives therein were reputed martyrs, as was the case with such as died on a voyage to the Holy Land. Earl Simon (*e*) was of course regarded as

(*a*) The connexion, perhaps, might commence when the bishop was arch-deacon of Leicester.

(*b*) Dugd. Baron. I. p. 572.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 309.

(*d*) Ibidem, p. 301.

(*e*) This was a strange turn in his character. He had been very ungrateful to king John, who had been so great a benefactor to him, and for adhering to the French against him, had been but justly driven out of the kingdom; but now he becomes all at once a saint. However, I do not find he was ever formally canonized. But every man, at this time, who was thought to die in a good cause,

as such, and, as it was pretended, several miracles were wrought at his tomb (*a*).

Simon, his second son, became afterwards earl of Leicester, and high-steward (*b*), by the favour of his elder brother Almaric, who was seated in France, and had resigned all his right to the earldom to him (*c*). Bishop Groffeteste became as father confessor to this earl, having great weight with him (*d*), and even over-ruling him in a matter which much concerned his honour, and when nobody else could ever have prevailed with him. This was in 1253, in Gascoigne. Simon had been exceedingly provoked by certain rash and hasty words the king had uttered against him (*e*): but the bishop had soothed his anger, by representing to him, in proper terms, by letter, that he ought to return good for evil, and not regard expressions which were the effect of mere heat and passion; that he ought rather to recollect the many obligations he owed to his majesty, who had given him his sister to wife, had graciously conferred upon him the earldom of Leicester, and the wardship of Gilbert de Umfreville, &c. upon which the earl relented, and came well appointed with men and arms to offer the king his service (*f*).

though it was a mere secular one, had the reputation of a martyr. M. Paris, speaking of one who had been faithful to the king in Poictou, and put to death for it, says, 'Unde, quia pro justitia obiit, constat ipsum *martyrem esse gloriosum*,' p. 320. See Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry, p. 46. Hence children were made saints, as Hugh of Lincoln, Kenelm, &c.

(*a*) Annal. Dunstap. p. 98.

(*b*) Dugdale Baron. I. p. 752. M. Paris, p. 483.

(*c*) Burton, Descript. of Leicestershire, p. 172. M. Paris, p. 483.

(*d*) Whence M. Paris says of earl Simon, 'Beato Roberto dicto *Grossum caput*, Lincoln. episcopo adhærere satagebat, eique suos parvulos tradidit nutriendos. Ipse consilio tractabat ardua, tentabat dubia, finivit inchoata, ea maxime per quæ meritum sibi succrescere aestimabat,' p. 998.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 497. Rapin, p. 324.

(*f*) M. Paris, p. 879. Rapin, p. 327. Leland, Collect. III. p. 403.

The bishop was grown old, but could not be very infirm, since he both attended and exerted himself in parliament the last year,

Jam senior, sed cruda *viro* viridisque senectus, the effect, no doubt, of a regular, studious, and abstemious life, since, as he tells us himself, he was but of a weakly constitution (*a*). However, toward the latter end of the summer, in 1253, he fell desperately sick at his palace of Buckden (*b*), and sent for friar John de St. Giles, who was both a physician and a divine, in both which capacities he wanted his assistance, as he foresaw, to the great uneasiness of his mind, the troubles that would shortly befall the church. He then gave orders to the clergy of his diocese to renew the sentence of excommunication upon all who should infringe the Magna Charta concerning the liberties of the kingdom, which made the incumbents very obnoxious to many of the courtiers. Talking one day with De St. Giles, and mentioning the proceedings of the pope, he much blamed his brethren the Dominicans, and did not spare the Franciscans; because as their institutions were founded so wisely in voluntary poverty, namely, poverty of spirit, that so they might with more freedom reprove the vices of the great, and even chastise them, and yet he, and his Dominican brethren, did not speak out so boldly as they ought to do, in detecting and censuring the enormities of the nobles, they were no better than

(*a*) 'Homo contemptibilis, utpote invalidus et infirmus corpore,' in 1238. Brown, p. 350, and see p. 359.

(*b*) Bukedona. M. Paris, p. 874. Bugedona, p. 876. This village stands on a gently-rising ground, and as there was anciently a park there, I take the former, from *Buc* or *Buk*, cervus, & *don*, which is the same as *dun*, a high ground, to be the truth, though often it is written *Bugeden*, as in Brown, p. 390, and *Bukedene*. Leland, Coll. p. 329, and *Bukdane* by bp. Russell. Warton, Hist. of Eng. Poetry, Dissert. II. p. lxxvii.

Hereticks (a). For what is heresy, says he to John? define it; and when John hesitated, he himself explained that Greek word in Latin, ‘Hæresis est sententia humano sensu *electa*, ‘scripturæ sacræ contraria, palam edocta, pertinaciter defensa: ‘hæresis Græcè, *electio* Latinè.’ And then he proceeded to reprehend the prelates, especially the Roman ones, for committing the care of souls to their relations, men of no worth, and deficient both in age and learning; and very formally proved the pope to be an Heretick by the above definition; to give, says he, the care of souls to a child, ‘*Sententia* est alicujus prælati *humano sensu electa*, from an earthly and fleshly view; and it is *contraria scripturæ sanctæ*, which admits of none to be pastors but such as are capable of driving away the wolves; and it is *palam edocta*, because a sealed paper, or bull, is openly produced; and it is *pertinaciter defensa*, because if any one should dare to oppose it, he is sure to be suspended, excommunicated, and to have a crusade proclaimed against him. He, then, who corresponds with the definition of Heretick, is one. Every good Christian is obliged to oppose an Heretic to the utmost of his power, and he who can do that, and yet omits it, sins, and is a favourer of him, according to that of St. Gregory, *Non caret scrupulo societatis occultæ, qui manifesto facinori desinit obviare*; but now the friars, both the *preachers* and the *minors*, are particularly bound to oppose such an one, as they are by profession preachers, and are more at liberty to do it by their vow of poverty; they do not only sin, if they do not oppose him, but they become encouragers of him, as

(a) This is what Stowe alludes to, p. 900; but he confounds this speech of the bishop with the letter he wrote to the pope (see above in this year), and what is equally erroneous, he intimates that letter to have been written in several languages.

‘ the Apostle says unto the Romans, *Non solum qui talia agunt,*
 ‘ *sed qui consentiunt, digni sunt morte.* I therefore conclude, that
 ‘ both the pope, unless he amends his error, and the friars,
 ‘ except they will endeavour to restrain him, must be deservedly
 ‘ subject to everlasting death. And even the Decretal says,
 ‘ that upon this head, namely for heresy, the pope both may
 ‘ and ought to be accused and condemned (a).’

It appears evidently from this conversation, that how weak
 soever the bishop might be in body, he still retained the strength
 of his understanding; that, conscious of the uprightness of his
 conduct towards the pope, he still fully approved it in his own
 mind; and lastly, that his courage was not in the least broken,
 nor his spirits dejected, by any fulminations that had been
 launched against him from that quarter.

It was now October 6, when the nights began to grow long,
 and as he was tired with lying, and his disorder, whatever it
 was, lay heavy upon him (b), his lordship sent for some of his
 chaplains, that they might amuse themselves together by mutual
 conversation. Concerned at the loss of souls through the avarice
 of the court of Rome, he observed to them with a sigh, ‘ Christ
 ‘ came into the world to save souls, and therefore if any should
 ‘ be so wicked as to endeavour the loss of souls, ought he not to be
 ‘ justly styled Antichrist? Our Lord built the universe in six days,
 ‘ but he laboured more than thirty years to restore lost man: is
 ‘ not, therefore, a destroyer of souls, the enemy of God, and
 ‘ Antichrist? The pope is not ashamed impudently to disannul,
 ‘ by his clauses of *Non Obstante*, the bulls and grants of the
 ‘ holy Roman pontiffs his predecessors, to their manifest injury

(a) M. Paris, p. 874.

(b) Probably would not suffer him to sleep.

‘ and

' and prejudice, rejecting thus, and destroying what so many
 ' great saints had built and erected. What a strange contempt
 ' of the saints ! But the contemner shall be himself contemned,
 ' according to that of Isaiah, *Vae qui spernis ; nonne contemneris ?*
 ' Who will ever regard his own bulls ? He defends himself,
 ' indeed, in this, by saying, *An equal has no power over an equal,*
 ' and, therefore, a former pope cannot bind me who am a pope
 ' also ; but I answer, a person navigating on the perilous sea of
 ' this world, and another safe in port, are not equal ; for, al-
 ' lowing that a pope may be saved (and God forbid we should
 ' say otherwise), yet our Saviour says, *Qui minor est in regno cœ-*
 ' *lorum (a), major est Johanne Baptista, quo major inter natos mu-*
 ' *lierum nemo surrexit.* And, therefore, is not a pope that gave
 ' out, or confirmed, bulls, greater than any living one ? He
 ' appears so to me, and consequently must have power over his
 ' inferior ; the pope, therefore, ought not to despise his pre-
 ' decessors (b). Does not the pope himself speak of his pre-
 ' decessors in these terms ; *Ille vel ille, piæ recordationis prædecessor*
 ' *nostre, &c.* and often, *Adherentes sancti prædecessoris nostri*
 ' *vestigiis, &c.* Why then do later popes invalidate the decisions
 ' of their predecessors ? Many popes again, have confirmed a
 ' grant formerly made ; and are not a number, now happy in
 ' heaven, greater than one, who is yet in a militant state ? He
 ' observed further, our old fathers, apostolical men, precede in
 ' time, and those whom length of time has consecrated, we are
 ' bound to esteem as *venerable.* This, Holy Benedict, a man

(a) I doubt his lordship mistakes the sense of this phrase here ; the kingdom of
 glory not being meant, as he, by his argument, understands it, but the kingdom
 of Christ here on earth.

(b) Some words are wanting in the original, but this I take to be the sense in-
 tended.

‘ respectable for his virtue, and full of the true spirit of the
 ‘ saints, had a particular regard to in this *rule*, where he gives
 ‘ the preference to the first acceders, before others who might
 ‘ afterwards become members of his society, how worthy soever
 ‘ they might be, and directed they should have place and ve-
 ‘ neration. Whence, therefore, springs this intolerable rashness
 ‘ of cancelling the grants of so many ancient saints ?’ The bishop
 had a clear idea of the arrogance and absurdity of a dispensing
 power in respect of laws and canons, though king James II.
 and his Jesuits, in times much better enlightened, had not.

The bishop went on, and said, ‘ though many other popes
 ‘ have afflicted the church, this Innocent has enslaved it more
 ‘ than they ; has multiplied the evils and inconveniencies. The
 ‘ *Causini* (a) are professed usurers ; and though our holy fathers
 ‘ and doctors whom we have seen and heard ; the excellent Do-
 ‘ minican in France (b), the abbot of Flay of the Cistercian or-
 ‘ der (c), master James de Veteri (d), Stephen Langton, arch-
 ‘ bishop of Canterbury, then in exile, and master Robert de Cur-
 ‘ cun (e), expelled them by their remonstrances from the parts
 ‘ of France, yet the present pope hath brought them to England,
 ‘ which before was free from this pest of caterpillars, and there
 ‘ protected them ; and if any one presumed to open his mouth
 ‘ against them, he immediately became obnoxious to trouble
 ‘ and damage, as Roger, bishop of London, but too well knew (f).
 ‘ All the world is sensible, that usury is held forth as a thing
 ‘ detestable both in the Old and New Testament, and is pro-

(a) Or *Corfini*, a set of Italian merchants infamous for usurious contracts, parti-
 cularly in France, whence our kings drove them out by repeated laws and statutes.
 See *Archæologia*, X. 242, i.

(b) Qu.

(c) For Eustachius, abbat of Flay, see M. Paris, p. 201. Rog. Hoveden, p. 804.

(d) Jacobus de Vitriaco. Cave's Hist. Lit. p. 625.

(e) See Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.* p. xxxviii. and p. 213 ; also Godwin de *Præsul.* p. 786.

(f) Roger Niger. See for this fact M. Paris, p. 418.

‘ hibited

‘hibited by God; but now, the pope’s merchants, or ex-
 ‘changers, profess it openly at London, of which the very Jews
 ‘complain; and, moreover load our ecclesiastics, especially the
 ‘religious, with oppressions, thereby forcing such as were poor
 ‘to lye, and set their hands to falsehoods, which was no better
 ‘than idolatry, and a violation of the sacredness of truth: for
 ‘instance, I borrow one hundred marks for a year, and I call it
 ‘one hundred pounds; and thereupon I am compelled to draw
 ‘a writing and sign it, in which I acknowledge myself to have
 ‘borrowed an hundred pounds, and promise to repay it; and if
 ‘you have the principal ready within a month, or less, of the
 ‘time for repayment to the pope’s usurer, he will not receive it,
 ‘unless he has the whole money; extortion greater than Jewish!
 ‘for, whenever you bring your principal to a Jew, he will re-
 ‘ceive it gladly, with the interest due upon it for the time you
 ‘have had it.

‘Besides, the pope orders the friars to enquire after dying
 ‘people, to go to them and persuade them to make their wills
 ‘for the benefit of the crusades, and even to take the cross,
 ‘that when they recover they may come in for something (a), or
 ‘if they die, may receive it, or perhaps force it, from their
 ‘executors. Nay, the pope sells the croisees to laymen (b), just
 ‘as formerly sheep and oxen were sold in the temple; and I
 ‘have seen an instrument of his, wherein it was inserted, that
 ‘those, who in their wills devised money for the use of the cru-
 ‘sades, or took the cross, should receive *indulgence* in propor-
 ‘tion to the sum they gave (c).

(a) By causing them to redeem their vow.

(b) To Richard earl of Cornwall, and William Longspé, in particular. M. Paris, p. 732, 734. See before, p. 156.

(c) See particularly M. Paris, p. 433.

‘The

' The pope again has often commanded the prelates to pro-
 ' vide such a one, an alien, an absent person, and absolutely
 ' unqualified, as being both illiterate, and ignorant of the lan-
 ' guage of the parishioners, so as to be able to preach or hear
 ' confessions; as also to keep residence for the relief of the
 ' poor and the maintenance of hospitality, with some ecclesiastical
 ' benefice, and such as the party should chuse to accept.
 ' I know too, that he actually wrote to the abbat of St. Alban's
 ' to furnish one John de Camezana (*a*), an entire stranger to
 ' him, with a competent benefice. Soon after he presented him
 ' to a rectory of forty marks a year or more; but John, not
 ' being contented, complained to the pope, and he ordered the
 ' abbat to provide better for him, retaining at the same time
 ' the presentation to the first living. Not long after that, two
 ' despicable creatures came to the abbey, and shewed his holi-
 ' ness's letters, commanding, that the abbat should give them
 ' at first ten marks for their exigences; and the men threatened
 ' him so, that he was forced to make the matter up with them
 ' as well as he could.

' Those learned and holy men (*b*), who have left the world
 ' and entered into some perpetual order, for the better serving
 ' and imitating God, the pope converts into tax-gatherers, the
 ' more artfully to extort money, and they are obliged to under-
 ' take the service, though unwilling, lest they should be thought
 ' *disobedient*. Thus they became more secular than ever, belying
 ' the habit they wear, whilst a spirit of pride and exaltation
 ' dwells under their frocks.

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 923.

(*b*) He means the friars, who were now beginning to be publicans to the popes.

‘ And because a legate is not to come into the kingdom, unless the king desire it (a), the pope nevertheless sends many legates in effect, and though not robed in purple, yet invested with the highest powers; and so frequently do these concealed emissaries come, and so numerous are they, that it would be tedious to mention their names. But, what is more strange, the pope, for some worldly view, will permit a person to enjoy a bishoprick, without ever being a bishop, but only an *elect*, from year to year (b), giving him the milk and wool of the sheep, without driving away the wolves, and permitting him to enjoy all his former preferments.’

And when he had expressed his detestation of these practices, together with many other enormities, every species of avarice, usury, simony, and rapine, of the lust and luxury, and the superb dresses, of the court of Rome, of which it may be truly pronounced,

Ejus avaritiæ non totus sufficit orbis,

Ejus luxuriæ (c) meretrix non sufficit omnis;

he proceeded to shew, that this court, as if the river Jordan was to flow into its mouth, was now gaping for the effects of intestates (d), and dubious legacies (e); and, the more easily to

(a) This privilege was obtained by king Henry I. Fox, Martyr. I. p. 257.

(b) He hints at Ethelmar, elect of Winchester, the king's half-brother.

(c) *Luxuria* here means *lust*, as in Decem Scriptores, col. 310. Hoveden, p. 473. Hemingford, pp. 552, 554, 557, in marg. Gul. Neubrig. pp. 70, 835. Brown, Fascic. II. pp. 252, 297, 300, 310. H. Steph. Apolog. pour Herodote, c. 6. Our Append. N° VI. art. 13. From *luxuria*, in this sense, comes, if I mistake not, the word *lechery*, written *liechery* in Hampole's MS. Linc. p. 189, and where it is an old word opposed to *chastite*. It is a good proof of this, that *liechours*, in the sense of luxurious, Hampole, MS. Linc. p. 322, comes from *luxuria*. Shakspeare in king Lear IV. 7. uses *luxury* for *lust* [and so the Spaniards use it now]; and Henry V. act IV. scene 10, *luxurious* means lustful. See also Du Fresne in v. *Luxuria*.

(d) See on the year 1246.

(e) Bona intestatorum et distincte legatorum. One MS. has *indistincte*, as if Matthew.

to obtain them, the king had been associated, and made partaker of the spoil. And then he added, 'The church can never be delivered from this Egyptian bondage but by the edge of the sword: these things are trifles, but in a short time, even in three years, heavier things will come upon us.' And at the end of this prophetic speech, which he was scarcely able to utter for sighs and tears, his breath and his voice failed him.

These extracts from M. Paris, it must be acknowledged, are very long; but yet they are absolutely necessary to our purpose, as they so fully discover to us the bishop's real sentiments on the depraved and corrupt state of the papacy at the time; the very particulars, or articles, on which he grounded his charge, and his perfect and most justifiable abhorrence of all its iniquitous and horrible proceedings.

He died at Buckden (*a*), 9 October (*b*), 1253, and the corpse was carried to Lincoln, where it was met by archbishop Boniface (*c*), who, having finished his visitation of the diocese of

Matthew meant not clearly, but uncertainly devised, or intended money bequeathed to the crusades, which the pope seized as lawful prize; but in either of these cases it should rather be *legata*. Let the reader judge

(*a*) At Lincoln. Kennet, p. 248, citing Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 248. which is wrong.

(*b*) Trivet says, 4 October. Annal. Burton, 7 October. Annal. Dunstap. Oct. 14. 8 Oct. Chron. Petrib. p. 112. 6 Nov. Annal. Lanercost. In the old library at Peterborough there were 'Versus de morte Roberti Lincoln. Episcopi,' Gunton, p. 201, which I presume belong to our prelate, and are different from those by Ri. Bardney. Bishop Kennet, MS. note on p. 335 of Anglia Sacra, I. in the hands of Mr. Gough, puts his death on the day of St. Calixtus the pope and martyr, which is October 14.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 878, bis. Annal. Burton, p. 328; and please to observe, that it was on his return from the funeral that Boniface claimed the spiritualities. See in the year 1248. Bishop Kennet, MS. ubi supra, says, the archbishop, and many other bishops, performed the funeral office, and on the Tuesday immediately following held his visitation in the Chapter-house, and notwithstanding the opposition of the canons retained to himself the episcopal visitation, excommunicating all who disputed his right thereto.

Lincoln, was arrived at Newark upon Trent, and there heard of Bishop Groffeteste's death; whereupon he returned to Lincoln, and attended the funeral, along with the bishops of London and Worcester, many abbats and priors, and an infinity of clergy and people, the 13th of October, notwithstanding his lordship died under a sentence of excommunication (*a*). He was interred in the upper South transept, but at such a distance from the South wall, that Adam de Marisco was laid between him and the wall (*b*). The tomb was raised altar-wise, within (*c*) three niches on one side: the effigies and arms were gone in 1641, but there seemed to have been some bras inlaid on it (*d*), and we are told there had been an effigy in bras (*e*).

The pope, it is remarked, rejoiced greatly on the bishop's death; for, when Conrade, king of Sicily, died next year, he exult-

(*a*) Bardney, p. 338. Annal. Lanercost. p. 341. M. Paris, p. 883. Knighton, col. 2436. In the old library at Peterborough there was a book, intituled, 'Causa quare Rob. Grostest, Episc. Linc. fuerit a Dño Papa excommunicatus.' Gunton, p. 217. Yet Du Pin, XI. p. 63, seems to leave this matter in suspense; but surely if it was not so, the pope could have no pretence for digging up the bishop's bones. See below.

(*b*) See some account of Adam, hereafter, p. 237.

(*c*) Q. with three niches on one side. In p. 50, Dr. Willis calls it a *raised* monument, which is synonymous with an altar-tomb.

(*d*) Willis, pp. 7, 9. whether the figure may not be represented in the Hatton MS. mentioned by Willis, p. 4. Where that MS. is I have not been able to discover.

(*e*) Willis, p. 50. Leland expressly says there was an effigy. Itin. VIII. part 2, p. 4. "Bishop Grosted lyethe in the hygheste Southe isle in a goodly tombe of marble and an image of bras over it;" where *image* may mean either a bras plate or a statue cast in relief. Bishop Godwin describes it as *tumulus satis speciosus ex marmore æneis laminis ornatus*. In the English edition, p. 214, "a goodly tomb of marble, with an *image* of bras over it." Mr. Brown does not in express terms mention an effigy, only saying, 'Ubi patrum nostrorum memoriâ extitit marmor sepulchrale cum ænea lamina affixa, subtus jacentis nomen et honorem explicante,' p. 407, which seems to imply a *figure* of him, perhaps, with the addition of his arms as abovementioned.

' In

exultingly said on that occasion, 'Gaudeo planè, et gaudeamus
' universi ecclesiæ Romanæ alumni, quia jam sublati sunt de
' medio duo maximi inimici nostri: unus ecclesiasticus, alter sæ-
' cularis: episcopus Lincolnienfis Robertus, et Rex Siculorum
' Conradus (a).' One would have supposed, that the bishop
was removed by death out of the reach of Innocent's fury; the
pontiff's rage was not, however, so totally extinguished, but that
it flamed out the year after; and, notwithstanding the opposition
of the cardinals, he ordered a letter to be written to king Henry,
enjoining him to take up the bishop's bones, cast them out of
the church, and burn them (b); thinking by that to disgrace
him, and cause him to be reputed an heathen man, a heretick
(c), and a disobedient rebel, throughout the whole world (d).
The letter, however, was not sent.

The tomb, in after-times, had an officer appointed to keep it; and,
about the year 1300, Henry de Beningworth, subdean, was ap-
pointed by the chapter *Custos Tumbe S'ti Roberti*, in the absence of
master Gilbert de Segrave (e); and an healing oil was supposed to
have issued from it (f), of which John de Schalby, canon of Lin-

' In the South end of the aisle going into the revesterie is an ancient tomb called
' Grosthead's.' Bp. Sanderson, in Peck's Desiderata, p. 301.

' In the South end of the upper transept or cross aisle beyond the door near the
' revesterie, lies the remains of bishop Robert Grosthead's tomb.' MS. copy of Bp.
Sanderson's church notes, in the hands of the late Mr. Simpson, who continued
it to 1735, of which Mr. Gough has a transcript.

(a) M. Paris, p. 893.

(b) So Mr. Lambard in Top. Dict. p. 47.

(c) John Wickliff's bones were dug up and burnt. Fox, Martyr. I. p. 605.

(d) M. Paris, p. 883. Wood, Hist. I. p. 106.

(e) Acts of the Chapter.

(f) Thomas Gascoigne in MS. Brown, p. 398. Wood, p. 106. Harpsfield,
p. 476. We hear of a like medicinal oil in M. Paris, p. 842, and p. 317, issuing from
a tomb. See also Memorial of British Piety, p. 42; and the Legend of St. Catha-
rine in the Roman Breviary. Erasmus sneers at this. Peregrin. p. 368.

coln, who wrote in 1330, gives this account: 'Post ipſius [Roberti
 ' Groſſeteſte] obitum bonorum omnium retributor altiffimus ope-
 ' rari dignatus eſt pro eodem plurima miracula manifeſta: inter
 ' quæ tumba marmorea ejusdem viri Dei oleum puriffimum (a)
 ' repetitis vicibus plurimis in eccleſia præſentibus emanavit (b).'
 Biſhop John Dalderby, who was afterwards a ſaint himſelf,
 granted an indulgence of forty days, 19 October, 1314, to all
 that ſhould come and worſhip at Groſſeteſte's tomb (c). Long
 before this, and but two years after the biſhop's death, Richard,
 earl of Cornwall, came in pilgrimage to his tomb (d); and 14
 December, 1308, 10*ſ*. of the money belonging to the tomb was
 borrowed by the vicars for the purpoſe of completing their hall, or
 the roof of the ſame (e). It appears, that the body of canons,
 now cool and diſpaſſionate, could view the merits of their prelate
 with a more equal eye, and, as they eaſily diſcerned his ſuperior
 excellence, were diſpoſed to pay him all due veneration and
 regard.

The tomb was probably ~~now~~ in a ruinous ſtate, after the
 ravages of the laſt century. What Mr. Eſſex ſuppoſed to have
 been the ſlab, ſupported by circular pillars at the corners, is en-
 graved in plate XVI. of vol. I. of that admirable and ſplendid
 work, Mr. Gough's Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain. After
 all due enquiry at the College of Arms, and elſewhere, I have
 not been able to recover a drawing of the original tomb,
 either amongſt biſhop Sanderſon's or Sir William Dugdale's
 Collections: I therefore can only preſent the reader with this

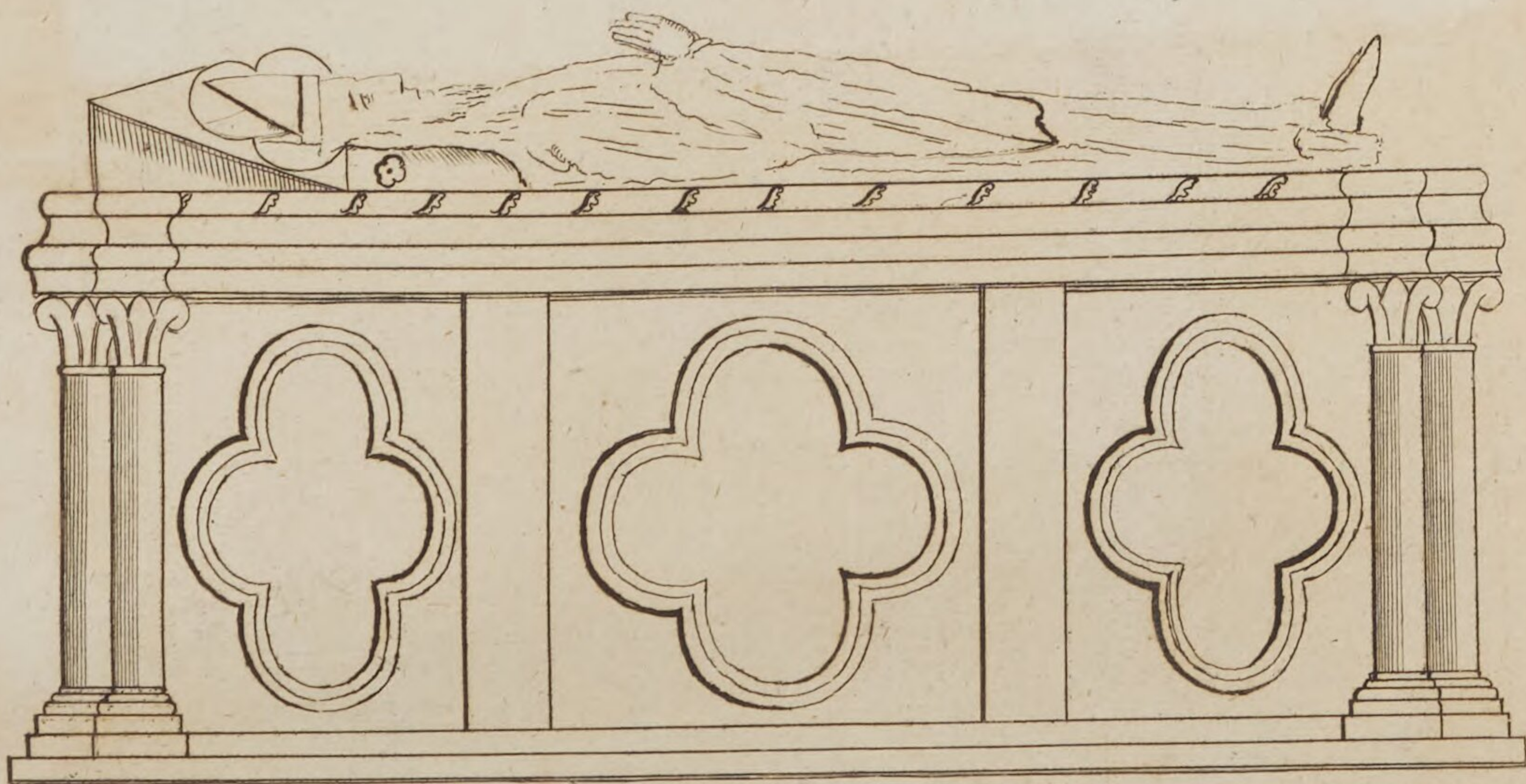
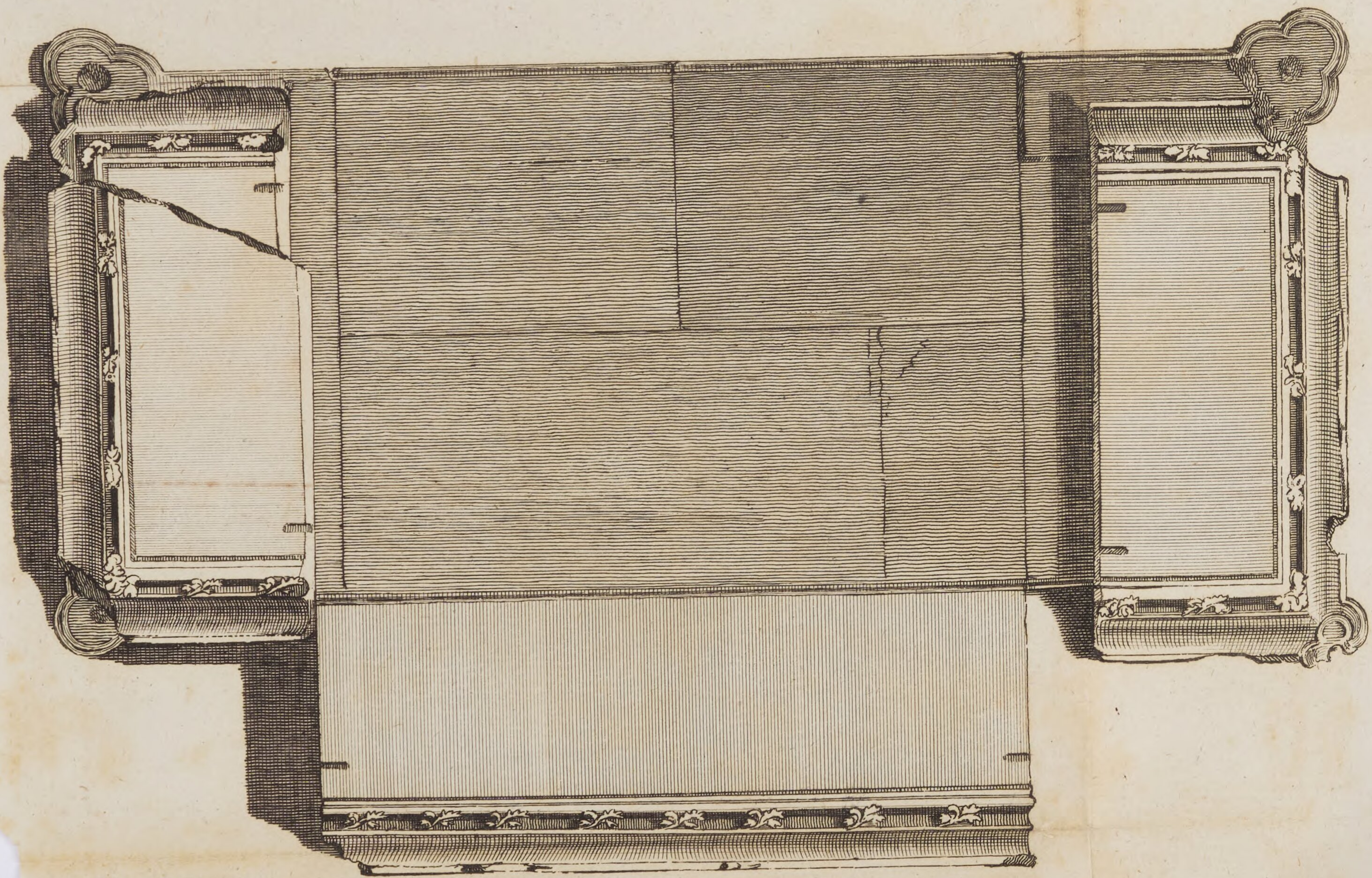
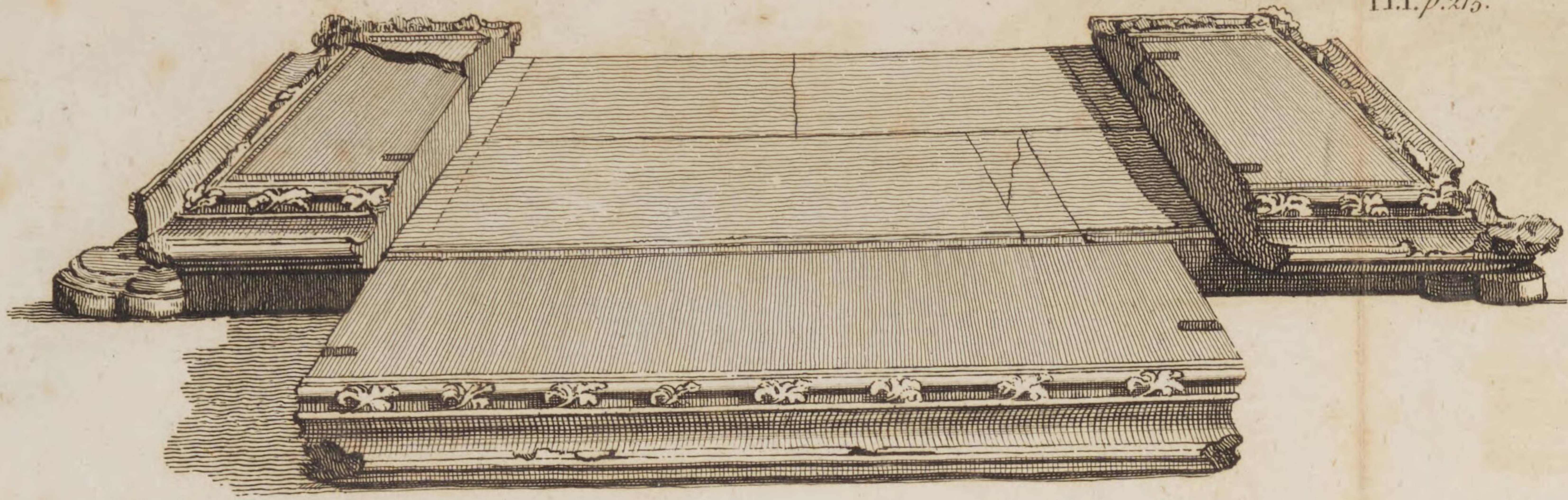
(a) The effect probably of embalming. Gough, Sep. Mon. p. lxxix.

(b) John Schaldly, Martyrolog. MS. penes Dec. & Cap. Linc.

(c) Mem. J. Dalderby, Linc. Epiſc. f. 278.

(d) Annal. Burton, p. 346.

(e) Mr. Simpson's MS. p. 570.



plate, which Mr. Gough has been pleased to lend me, referring him at the same time to that gentleman's most just and exalted character of our prelate, in his elucidation and comment on this plate (a).

This broken slab being removed in Autumn 1782, the grave was opened, by favour of the precentor Dr. John Gordon, by Richard Gough, esq. and afterwards by Sir Joseph Banks, bart.; and, at the depth of eighteen inches, under a solid heap of earth and rubbish, the masons struck on the freestone lid of a coffin, in which had been hollowed a cavity for the face, and which, not being cemented, was easily removed, and discovered a sheet of lead raised over the face, and laid on four loose iron bars over the stone coffin, wherein the bishop's skeleton was discovered, the bones fallen together, but none of them absolutely perished (the thigh-bone nearly sixteen inches long), with a small quantity of the pickle at the bottom of the coffin, but no appearance of any wrapper. The articles that were taken out and lodged in the vestry were the metal part of his crozier, and his ring with a very small blue stone set in it. There were also a chalice and paten lying under the bishop's right ear, which, having sunk down, had occasioned his head to incline the contrary way. Across the body, from right to left, lay a crozier of red wood, the middle part of which was intirely decayed; the top, which lay flat in the bottom of the coffin, was carved into the rude form of a lamb's head, at the bottom of whose neck was a fillet of horn or ivory; two rings of horn of the different diameters went round the crozier-top at different intervals, and, where it was fastened to the

(a) Sepulchral Monuments, I. p. 47.

staff (*a*), was a brass plate fitted on with leather, and charged with this inscription in two lines:

✠ PER BACVLI FORMAM ✠
PRELATI DISCITO NORMAM.

The point of the crozier was also shod with a pointed metal ferule armed with a knob, and from it issued a transverse piece of metal, also knobbed, as a stop to keep it steady at the foot. See the annexed plate; where

A. is a part of the crozier-head, representing the ferule and stop at the bottom of the crozier.

B. The brass plate which fitted the staff to the head.

C. represents the same plate, with the inscription upon it at full length.

D. A fillet of horn or ivory, surrounding a part of the crozier-top.

E. the ring with a small blue stone set in it. It is of gold, but with some alloy, and weighs no less than *fifteen pennyweights, twenty-one grains*.

The chalice and patten, it is believed, were replaced in the coffin.

The bishop's seal had on the obverse a bishop standing, holding a pastoral staff in the left hand, an head on each side. The inscription, now imperfect, as indeed the seal is, ROB.... LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPUS. Reverse, our Lady and the child Jesus; inscription, AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM (*b*).

(*a*) They commonly call this staff a crozier, but quære if it were not rather the *cross* borne before the bishop? Mr. Gough inclines to think it was either the bishop's private crozier used by him on all occasions of ceremony when he appeared *in pontificalibus*, or a model of it; and that the cross borne before him was in the form of a *cross*, and not of a pastoral staff.

(*b*) John Topham, esq. communicated this description from an impression in his collection; but, as there is nothing particular in this seal, it was not thought worth while to engrave it.

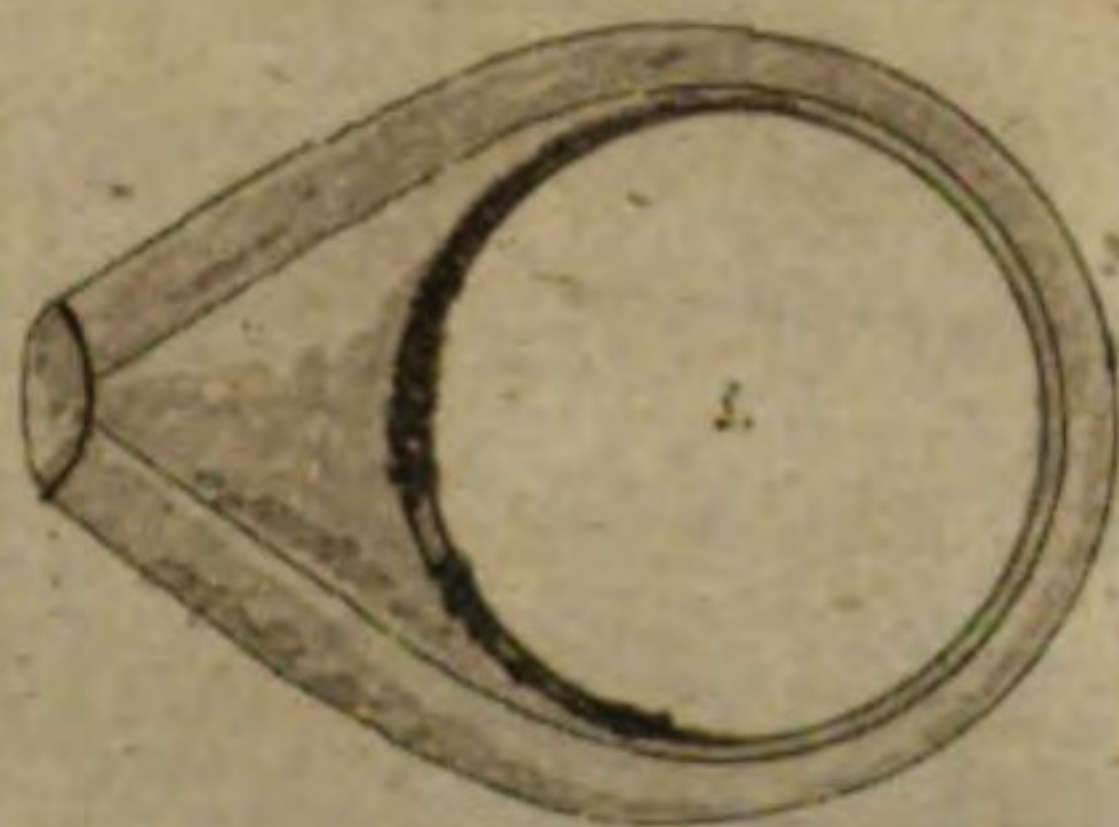
The

†PRELÆ TI DISCITO NORMAN
†PERBACVLI: FORMAMX

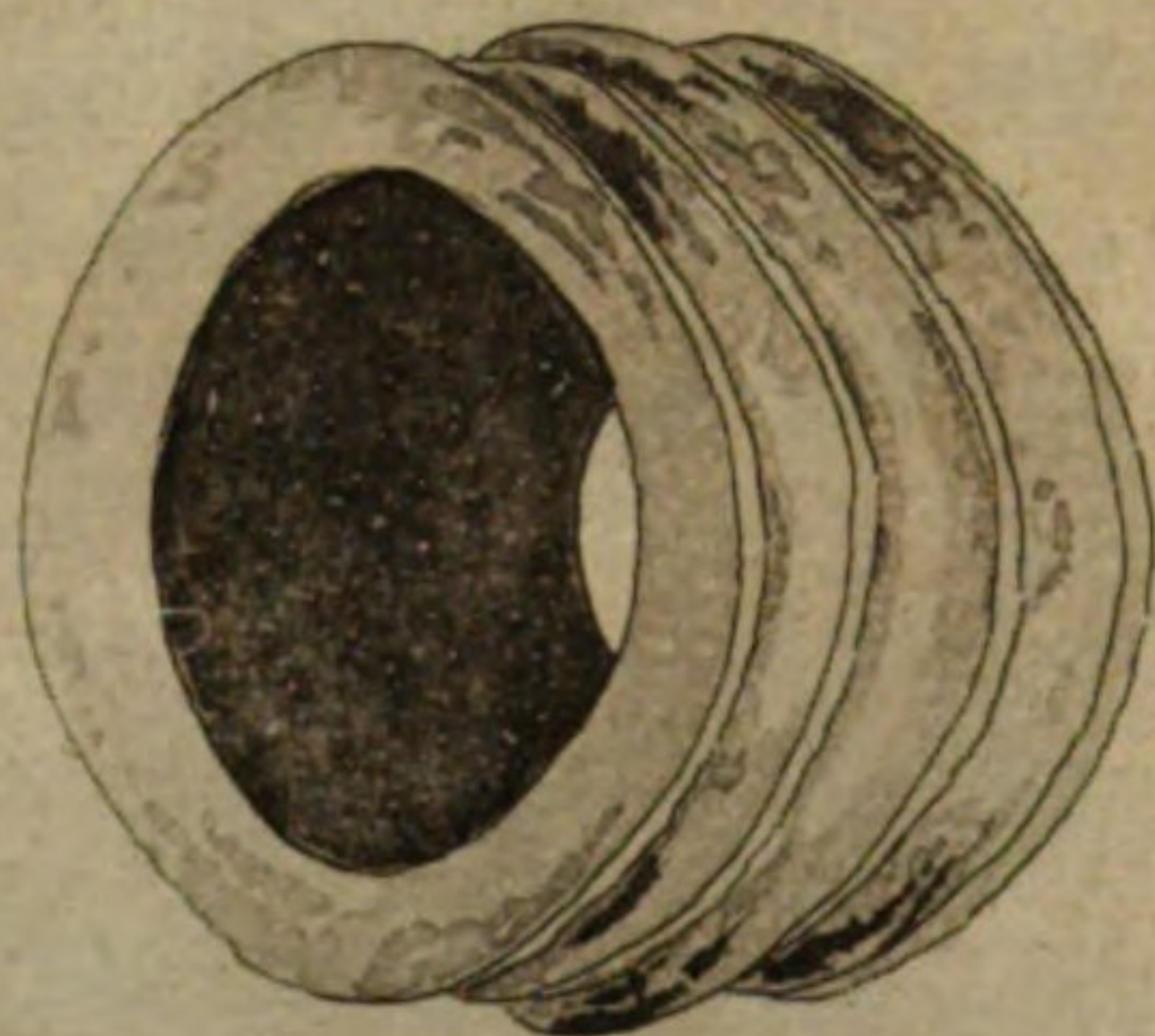
C



B



E



D



A



The bishop built a great hall at Lincoln (*a*); but, what is still more material, Mr. Effex thinks the nave of the church as far as the West towers, including the great transept and rood tower, begun to be rebuilt by Hugh de Wells, was finished by bishop Grosseteste, who raised the rood tower as high as the bottom of the upper windows (*b*); it being afterwards finished, with its spire, by bishop D'Alderby (*c*). 'In the year 1547 the spire on the rood tower fell down, which damaged the roof over the choir, and destroyed the battlements of the tower. The roof was soon repaired, but the battlements were not restored until the year 1775 (*d*).'

As the bishop was a person of acknowledged piety, and strictness of manners, he easily arrived at the *beatitudo* (*e*), and even at *sanctity*, in the general estimation (*f*), but he could never obtain these honours from the church, though they were solicited for him in the strongest terms. His miracles are also spoken of by many (*g*). John le Romaine, archbishop of York, who died in 1296, seems to be the first that applied to the court of Rome for his canonization (*h*); and in 1307 there was a general ap-

(*a*) Annal. Lanerc. p. 341.

(*b*) Archæol. Soc. Ant. IV. pp. 154, 157.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 156.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 157.

(*e*) His successor, Oliver Sutton, terms him 'Beatus Robertus quondam Lincolnienſis epiſcopus.' Wood, Hiſt. Antiq. p. 141. M. Paris, pp. 956, 998.

(*f*) Joh. abbas Petrib. p. 107. M. Paris, pp. 876, 1003; and ſee the account of his tomb: and Thomas Gaſcoigne in MS. apud Wood, p. 105. Annal. Burton, pp. 328, 331, 346. Polychronicon, fol. cccv. b. M. Weſtminſter, p. 354. Joh. Gerson, Robert de Brunne, in Wharton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, I. p. 61. See there again, p. 78.

(*g*) See above, the account of his tomb; alſo M. Paris, pp. 880, 903, 905, where they are ſaid to be not leſs than twenty. Annal. Burton. pp. 341, 346. H. Knighton, col. 2436. Thomas Gaſcoigne in MS. apud Wood, Hiſt. p. 105. Harpsfield, p. 476. Richard de Bardney; ſee above, part I. Epiſtle of Dean and chapter of St. Paul's to Clement V. apud Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 343, and ſome wrought in his life-time. Wood Hiſt. p. 105. M. Weſtminſter, p. 355.

(*h*) Tanner, Bibl. Brit. p. 350.

plication to Clement V. for the same purpose, first by the church of Lincoln; 'Memorandum quod 6 Id. Martii, A. D. 1307, 'concessit magr. Robertus de Kinelingworth (*a*) expresse de arripiendo iter ad sedem apostolicam, et de proseguendo ibidem canonizationem beati Roberti, unde capitulum volens prospicere eidem magistro Roberto pro tam gratâ promissione suâ, concessit eidem, quod quam diu est in proseguendo dictum negotium, habeat omnia commoda residentie ac si personaliter resideret (*b*).' Then, by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's (*c*), and the king, Edward I. in his 35th year, 1397 (*d*); and, as I think, by the University of Oxford (*e*), and the abbat and convent of Osney (*f*). Mr. Simpson also writes, that the next year, 1398, the king 'commanded his chancellor to write a letter to the pope and some cardinals, in the best form he could, for the canonization of Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln; in pursuance of that he writ to the pope the year before for that purpose (*g*).' It was about this time also, as I conjecture, that William de Grenesfield, archbishop of York, preferred his request to the court of Rome. But though the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, as likewise the king, and the above prelates, descanted amply, in their respective letters, on the bishop's learning, the holiness of his life, and his miracles wrought both in his life-time, and after his death (*h*), they could not prevail; and the reason of the miscarriage, no doubt,

(*a*) See Willis, pp. 210, 214, for this canon.

(*b*) Ex antiq. Registr. Dec. et cap. incipiente a. 1304. notat. A. primus, F. b. b.

(*c*) Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 343.

(*d*) Wood, Hist. Ant. I. p. 105. Simpson, p. 110, Prynne, Collect. p. 1134. The King's Writ of Privy Seal is remitted into the Appendix from Rymer.

(*e*) Wood, *ibid*.

(*f*) Wood, p. 106.

(*g*) Mr. Simpson, MS. p. 115; and Prynne, p. 1185.

(*h*) Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 343.

was the manifest impropriety and absurdity of reputed and proclaiming a person to be now an holy beatified saint in heaven, who, in their opinion, had so openly traduced, insulted, and vilified both the see and court of Rome, which were still pursuing the very same measures he condemned, and continued to be invariably the same depraved, venal, and corrupt body. It is, however, for the honour of bishop Grosseteste, that, for his piety and integrity, his learning and abilities, he still lives valued and revered in the breasts of all sober and reasonable men; and more so than if he had been formally enrolled among the saints, for a train of sham miracles, by a decree of any pope whatsoever. “*Enimvero vitæ is curriculum,*” says Mr. Wood, “*culpæ tam immunis absolvit, ut mortuum plebs universim tota pro sancto habuerit (a).*” And Dr. Thomas Gascoigne expresses himself to the same purpose, “*Licet à Papa non fuit [Grosseteste] catalogo sanctorum ascriptus, tamen ab ore hominum sanctus Robertus fuit nominatus;*” whence it is plain, that he suffered not the least in the esteem of the world, any more than he did in his own opinion, by the *Anathema* which pope Innocent had denounced against him (*b*). Indeed, the Papal censures, of which our prelates stood in so much dread at Lyons in 1245, had been of late so infamously prostituted, that they seem to have lost their efficacy. Bishop Grosseteste, in particular, paid no regard to that which was denounced against him, for he still continued to exercise his function; his clergy also made no scruple of obeying him when under the sentence (*c*); and his exequies were solemnized not only by the secular, but even by the regular clergy of his diocese.

(a) Wood, Hist. p. 105. See T. Wikes, p. 49

(b) See Collier, Eccl. Hist. p. 463.

(c) See above for his orders about renewing the sentence of excommunication against the infringers of Magna Charta.

I have on several occasions mentioned the bishop as a patron, and yet but sparingly, as the list of the dignitaries and canons made by him will be annexed; but it is necessary that we should open the prospect, and take a view of his lordship in his correspondence and connexion with those great men of his time, who were not, properly speaking, preferred by him, otherwise than to the honour of his friendship.

The first I shall name is John de St. Giles (*a*). This learned man was born at St. Alban's (*b*), and laid the foundation of his academical erudition at Paris, and there grew into great eminence, especially in logic and philosophy. He then turned his genius to medicine, and became not only professor of the art of healing in the university, but also a celebrated practitioner in the city, by which means he acquired a considerable portion of wealth; and he was so eminent in practice as to be employed about the person of Philip the French king. However, from Paris, John removed to Montpellier, where again he improved both his skill and his fortunes, and where he particularly applied to the study of the diseases of the mind (*c*). Returning to Paris after this, he betook himself entirely to the study of divinity, a science which he had before just tasted, and in which now he made so rapid a progress, that he soon became a doctor in the faculty, and a professor in the schools. M. Paris styles him, 'In arte peritum medicinali, et in *Theologia* lectorem eleganter eruditum, et *erudientem* (*d*).'

(*a*) Johannes Ægidius, or de Sancto Ægidio; of whom see particularly Wood, Hist. p. 64; and Tanner's Bibl. Brit. p. 10.

(*b*) Probably, says Fuller, in the parish of St. Giles, long since (as some more in that town) demolished. Fuller's Worthies, II. p. 24.

(*c*) Ubi . . . cœpit de novo medendi genere secum altius rationes inire, quod *animo* quantumvis languenti et morbido præsentissime mederetur. Leland in Tanner.

(*d*) M. Paris, p. 874. Wood, p. 85.

The order of Dominican or Black Friars, though but lately founded, began now to grow into high reputation ; and St. Giles, abandoning all his riches (*a*), joined himself to this new sect, by publicly wearing the habit. This was at Paris, in 1223, in the middle of a sermon *ad clerum*, when recommending the vow of poverty ; and, willing to give a proof of his sincerity, he descended from the pulpit, and, after taking the habit, returned to it again, and finished his discourse (*b*). Fuller remarks, that he was the first Englishman of the order (*c*). The accession of a member so illustrious was of infinite service to the disciples of St. Dominic, who were permitted, chiefly out of respect for John de St. Giles, to have two schools in their house at Oxford (*d*); one for divinity in the church or chapter house, and the other for philosophy in the cloysters. In these schools De St. Giles became a professor and lecturer both in the arts and in divinity. He was their first reader, namely, in those first schools which the Dominicans had in the Jewry. This shews, that this eminent person was now returned to his own country ; probably he came hither soon after the first mission of the Dominicans entered England, which was about the year 1221, at least soon after he had taken the habit.

John, you observe, was singularly useful to his friars, by his personal credit and reputation at Oxford, a circumstance which redounds much to his honour, and yet not more than that close intimacy which subsisted between him and the bishop

(*a*) Relictis fortunis omnibus.

(*b*) Nic. Trivet, p. 178.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, II. p. 24.

(*d*) Leland's words are, ' Ut duas scholas Lutetiæ, vel, ut aliàs legi, in Ifidis vado haberent.' They had certainly two schools at Oxford. Wood Hist. I. p. 64, and these were allowed out of regard to John de St. Giles, as Wood there relates. They might have two also at Paris. See Wood, Hist. p. 85.

of Lincoln. This familiarity was probably of a long standing, first at Paris, and then at Oxford. At last, when Grosseteste was made bishop, he obtained leave from Jordan, general prior of the Dominican order, that John might be permitted constantly to reside with him as an useful assistant in the discharge of his episcopal function in the largest diocese in England (*a*). Mr. Wood observes, that amongst Grosseteste's epistles there are many addressed to John de St. Giles, who, no doubt, discharged his part in the correspondence.

The bishop was consecrated in 1235, in which year De St. Giles accompanied the princess Isabella, when she was sent to her husband the Emperor (*b*), so that our Dominican could not be adopted into the bishop's family that year, but was certainly taken into it soon after.

John's employment about the princess as abovementioned is an argument that he was then much about court, employed both as a divine, and a physician; for he certainly followed the profession of physic after he became a friar. Of this we have clear proof in his curing our bishop in 1237 (*c*), and his being sent for in his last illness, *ut ab eo [Episcopus] corporis et animæ reciperet consolationem* (*d*). It seems he was in special confidence with the bishop in all respects.

In 1239 John was made privy counsellor (*e*), and in 1242 he attended that arch-rebel William de Marisco, in his last moments, before his terrible execution (*f*). His writings seem to be all of doubtful authority, but a catalogue of those which

(*a*) Brown, p. 334; and see Wood, p. 64.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 416.

(*c*) Idem. p. 65.

(*d*) Idem. p. 874.

(*e*) Idem. p. 518.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 518.

have been ascribed to him may be seen in Leland, Bale, and Pits. It is not known when he died.

I go next to Agnellus Pisanus; but as matters relative to this Italian friar have been occasionally mentioned in the course of the preceding memoirs, our account of him here will be the shorter. Agnellus was at the head of those Franciscans who first entered England. There were four clerks and two lay-brothers, and Agnellus was then a deacon of about thirty years of age, a very proper time of life for a missionary. He was but an illiterate man, yet the simplicity of his manners, and the sanctity of his life (*a*), won upon Grosseteste, who was then in high reputation at Oxford, and gained his perfect esteem. The goodness of Grosseteste's heart, where the love of piety in another was so predominant, shines here most illustriously.

Agnellus had been father-guardian at Paris, where, by his prudence and good management he had built a convent for the friars. He was then appointed superintendant, or provincial minister of England, by St. Francis himself, and when the *brothers* had obtained a seat at Oxford (for he himself seems to have continued some time at Canterbury) he came to them and erected a school in the first place of their residence (for they removed afterwards), and prevailed with Robert Grosseteste, as has been related above, to give those lectures in it which were so well attended.

After Agnellus had established his friars at Oxford he was made privy-counsellor to the king; and, in short, gained so much weight and authority every where; that his services were

(*a*) Agnellus is said to have been so humble, that he would not consent to enter into the order of priesthood until he had permission from the general chapter of his order.

of the greatest use in healing animosities, and composing differences, between the king and his barons (*a*).

He became, I think, at last general of the whole order, and dying of a complication of disorders, the dysentery, stone, and colic (*b*), in 1335 (*c*), was thought to work miracles.

The bond of friendship between Adam de Marisco and bishop Groffeteste was not only strict, but remarkably lasting; in some sense it may be said to have continued even after death. Adam was a Somersetshire man, where there are plenty of marshes, as Fuller observes, in the Fenny part; 'But,' continues he, 'I take 'Brent-marsh as the principal, the most probable place for his 'nativity.' It seemeth that a foggy air is no hindrance to a refined wit, whose infancy and youth was so full of pregnancy (*d*).

Adam entered upon the study of philosophy and the mathematicks at Oxford, and there grew to great eminence in both (*e*). But he must have studied divinity afterwards in Italy, if what *Pits* says be true, that he had the abbat of St. Andrew at Vercelli for his preceptor in theology, and the famous St. Anthony of Padua for his fellow-student. But this is a fact of suspicious authority.

He took the habit of the Franciscan order at Worcester, where he is said to have furnished the library of the convent with most excellent MSS (*f*). From Worcester he returned again to Ox-

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 391.

(*b*) Hearne, Append. to Thomas Otterbourne, p. xcvi.

(*c*) MCCCXXXV. Wood, p. 79; quære if not rather MCCXXXV, as Haymo was provincial in 1239. Hearne, Append. to Thomas Otterbourne, p. xcix. compared with Le Neve, p. 109; and Albertus of Pisa had intervened between Agnellus and Haymo.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies, III. p. 27.

(*e*) See Roger Bacon in A. Wood, p. 82.

(*f*) Fuller's Worthies, III. p. 28.

ford, retaining his propensity to learning, which was naturally very strong and predominant. He now discharged the function of professor, or public lecturer, at Oxford, in the Franciscan schools, being the first friar that ever read there (*a*), and continued his lectures, at times, till 1258 (*b*). When he was invested with the doctorate (*c*), he had the titles, or additions, given him, according to the custom of those times, of *Doctor illustratus* (*d*). Wideford places Adam at the head of his list of the Franciscan writers of Oxford, as Alexander de Hales stands first of those at Paris (*e*). It appears from one of his epistles (*f*), that he was guardian (*g*) of the Grey Friars at London; and Leland says, that, when bishop Grosseteste made his will, he was guardian of those at Oxford (*h*); and it is certain, that the Franciscans, his brethren, speak very highly of him. The annalist of Lanercost also says, *fuerat is vir vitâ et scientiâ clarus* (*i*), and Leland calls him *Theologus ad unguem eruditus* (*k*).

(*a*) Leland in Tanner. This must be the meaning of that expression in the Annals of Lanercost, 'Qui primus post ipsum [Grosseteste] de ordine minorum 'cathedram rexit Oxoniæ.' Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 342. One Peter succeeded Grosseteste in those schools, Wood, Hist. I. p. 71, and therefore the annalist only intended to say, that Adam was the first of his order that read there after Grosseteste.

(*b*) Leland.

(*c*) Wood, Hist. p. 72. Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 347. Trivet, p. 205.

(*d*) Wood, ibidem.

(*e*) Wood, ibidem. He died in Paris in 1245, and was there buried, and not at Hales in the county of Gloucester, as Mr. Camden represents it, col. 282; for, see bishop Gibson there, Gough's edit. of the Britannia, I. pp. 263, 278, and Brown, Fascic. p. 388. Of him see Tanner's Bibl. Brit. p. 370.

(*f*) Tanner.

(*g*) This is the proper term for the superiors of the Franciscan friars.

(*h*) Leland in Tanner.

(*i*) Apud Wharton, in Ang. Sac. II. p. 342.

(*k*) Leland in Tanner; and see Brown, p. 377; and the testimonies of Roger Bacon in Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 344.

Bishop Tanner observes, that Adam de Marisco occurs archdeacon of Oxford about the year 1258, and for this he cites A. Wood, MS. c. 245; but it is not probable a friar should be an archdeacon, and therefore, when we find that Robert de Marisco mentioned as filling that post that year (*a*), there is reason to suspect that either the bishop, or A. Wood, has been guilty of a misnomer: however, before he commenced friar, he was rector of the church of Wiremouth in the diocese of Durham (*b*), which I presume he relinquished on taking the frock (*c*).

In the year 1257 Adam was nominated bishop of Ely by the king and archbishop Boniface; but the pope, not favouring him, chose to confirm Hugh de Balsham, who had been elected by the monks of Ely in chapter, and he was afterwards the munificent founder of St. Peter's college, Cambridge (*d*).

(*a*) Le Neve, p. 165. Wood, Hist. I. p. 106.

(*b*) Wharton, l. c.

(*c*) Adam, chancellor of Sarum in 1238, Le Neve, p. 267, was probably a different person, though Rot. Robert Grossthead, episc. Linc. is cited for it: but quære, as De Marisco was so intimate with John de Offinton. See below. If he was the same man, he resigned before 1243; see Le Neve there.

(*d*) The case, in short, was this; the king wanted Henry de Wengham, his chancellor, to be elected by the monks of Ely, but they, having no regard to the royal recommendation, chose Hugh. The king, highly displeased, refused his assent to the election and confirmation of their clerk; and, the matter coming before the archbishop, he superseded the election of the convent, to please the king. And thereupon Hugh appealed to the pope, and went to Rome. The archbishop, in order to make the best opposition he could to Hugh, picked out the most unexceptionable man he could think of, which was Adam de Marisco, who was immediately dispatched to Rome with the king's and the archbishop's letters of recommendation; for, as Hugh had made his appeal to the pope, Boniface durst not consecrate Adam; and Hugh, by his money, carried his cause at Rome. Wharton, Ang. Sac. p. 367. Trivet, p. 205.

Adam

Adam had great intercourse and familiarity with the learned of his time, especially with Roger Bacon, who was of his own order. Bacon, indeed, in one place, speaks but slightly of him (*a*), but there I think he only means in respect of style and Adam's manner of writing; for, otherwise, he names him amongst those most famous, who, by the assistance of the mathematics, knew how to penetrate into the causes of all things, and to explain all human and divine subjects (*b*). In his book *De Mathematicis*, he joins Adam with Bishop Grosseteste; 'Ideo nullus potest,' says he, 'pervenire ad notitiam istius scientiæ per modum vulgatum, nisi qui ponat xxx vel xl annos, ut planum est in iis qui floruerant in his scientiis, sicut dominus Robertus felicitis memoriæ nuper episcopus Lincoln. ecclesiæ, et Fr. Adam de Marisco, et Mr. Johannes de Hendover, et hujusmodi, et ideo pauci student in hac scientiâ, &c (*c*). And in another place he mentions him along with the bishop, as a genuine and perfect divine (*d*). In short, Bacon speaks so highly of Adam in these passages, that he must be guilty of the greatest inconsistency, if where he censures him he means any thing, else but his language, or his mode of composition, since he pronounces the bishop and him *perfect philosophers, the greatest clerks in the world, and perfect in all divine and human wisdom, &c.*

Sewal, archbishop of York, was another of Adam's great friends; he addressed a long letter to the primate, which we find in the list of his works (*e*).

(*a*) Wood, Hist. I. p. 72.

(*b*) Roger Bacon, Opus Maj. p. 64.

(*c*) Bacon apud Wood, Hist. I. p. 82.

(*d*) Idem. Ibidem, p. 53. Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 344.

(*e*) 'Hujus [Adami] etiam epistola ad Sewallum, Archiep. Ebor. A. D. 1256, distinguitur in XLVII capitula. In hac epistola auctor archiepiscopo gratulatur; de munere pastoralis agit, quâ publico, quâ privato; Robertum nuper

To this archbishop I may join William the *minister* (a) of the friars minor in England, to whom Adam wrote many of his letters (b). This was William de Nottingham, provincial of the order in 1250 (c). Friar Thomas de Eboraco, D. D. was another of those eminent scholars, contemporaries with Adam, and on whom he bestows the highest encomium in a letter written to William de Nottingham, on account of an obstacle Thomas met with at Oxford, when he proceeded in divinity (d). Thomas not only read in the friary at Oxford, but, by the direction of the provincial minister, gave lectures also at Cambridge (e).

Simon de Valencinis was also a friend and acquaintance of Adam, for in 1256 Adam wrote in his behalf to Richard de St. Agatha, then chancellor, as is supposed, of Oxford, desiring he would assist Simon in procuring a loan of 40l. from the University chest, of the money given by William of Durham (f).

John de Offinton, a chaplain of the pope, and canon of Salisbury (who died in 1251), was also a particular friend of Adam, who wished him better than any other secular clergyman in the world (g).

In regard to bishop Groffeteste, the annals of Lanercoft say, Adam was, with him, *super cæteros condilectus*; and Nic. Trivet,

episc. Linc. laudat; contra rectores ecclesiarum invehit; de tribulationibus ecclesiæ variis, ratione scil. immunitatum et libertatum violatarum, fusè conqueritur, &c.' Bishop Tanner. There is a very good account of archbishop Sewall, (who sat but two years, from 1256 to 1258,) in Godwyn de præsulibus, ed. Richardson, pp. 678, 681, and in Mr. Drake's Eborac. p. 248.

(a) This was the proper term for this great officer of the order.

(b) See the list of Adam's works in Tanner.

(c) See Hearne, Appendix to Thomas Otterbourne, p. xcix.

(d) Wood, Hist. l. p. 72.

(e) Ibidem, p. 68.

(f) Ibidem, pp. 56, 391. See Caius II. p. 430, seq.

(g) Brown, Fascic. II. p. 391.

speaking

speaking of the esteem and affection the bishop had for the friars of both orders, has these words; ‘*præ cæteris autem familiarum habebat fratrem Adamum de Marisco, Bathoniensis dioc. ordinis minorum, in S. Theologia doctorem eximum et famosum, &c (a).*’ A large number of Adam’s epistles are addressed to the bishop (*b*); and, in that long one directed to archbishop Sewal, there is an especial commendation or encomium of his friend bishop Grosseteste, then defunct. There are also many letters extant of the bishop to Adam (*c*); and, from one of his lordship’s to Agnellus Pisanus, it clearly appears, says Mr. Wood, what a vast respect and value the bishop had for him (*d*). And so, when Adam performed his exercise for the doctorate, Grosseteste took the chair, and delivering a speech as usual, which he began thus, *exemplum esto fidelium in verbo, &c. (e)*, he exhorted the candidate in the most affectionate manner, and loaded him with the highest praises and commendations (*f*).

Adam lived constantly with the bishop (*g*), except when he was reading lectures at Oxford; for, besides what has been noted in general of his lordship’s affection for the friars, and his having both Dominicans and Franciscans in his retinue, we have John of Tinmouth’s express testimony for this, ‘*Libros suos,*’ says he of Grosseteste, ‘*fratribus minoribus Oxoniæ legavit ob*

(*a*) Wood, Hist. I. p. 77.

(*b*) ‘*Epistolæ hujus Adami circiter 250 extant . . . quarum pleræque ad Robertum Linc. Episc. et W. ministrum Angliæ.*’ Bishop Tanner. William de Nottingham, I suppose. See before, p. 228, note *a*.

(*c*) Wood, p. 72.

(*d*) Ibidem. See also Brown, p. 377.

(*e*) This, in the catalogue of the bishop’s works, is called a sermon *ad Clerum*. Perhaps the bishop on some occasion might preach on this text.

(*f*) Wood, p. 72. See also Brown, p. 377.

(*g*) Brown, Fascic. II. p. 317.

affectionem fratris *Adæ* Doctoris in Theologiâ *secum jugiter permanentis* (a). The bishop wrote a joint letter, in his own and Adam's name, to John de Offinton mentioned above (b), and addressed his book *De Formis* to Adam (c).

As to Adam's compositions, Leland only mentions 'justus in sacram scripturam commentariorum numerus;' but bishop Tanner has greatly enlarged the catalogue (d). I shall only observe, that among the rest we find paraphrases on Dionysius the Areopagite, an author in high esteem with bishop Grosseteste, and on whom he commented much himself. One would suppose the bishop and Adam perused this spurious author together; and, if they did it in the original Greek, Adam must have acquired some skill in that language as well as his lordship. Perhaps they had studied the Greek tongue together, and the similarity and union of their studies might be the strong and durable cement of that close and cordial friendship which subsisted between them. 'It is argument enough,' says Dr. Fuller, 'to persuade any indifferent man into a belief of Adam's abilities, because that Robert Grosthead, that learned and pious bishop of Lincoln, made use of his pains, that they might jointly peruse and compare the scriptures (e).'

The bishop, out of regard and to do a pleasure to Adam, left by his will the greatest part of his incomparable library, if not all (f), to the Franciscan friary at Oxford (g), as Adam himself

(a) John Tinmuth, in Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 347. I think he went abroad with the bishop in 1244. See Brown, p. 388.

(b) Brown, Fascic. II. p. 391.

(c) See the Catalogue of the bishop's works.

(d) See Roger Bacon in Wood, p. 82.

(e) Fuller's Worthies, III. p. 27.

(f) Trivet says all; and so John Leland.

(g) Tanner. Dr. Browne Willis, by mistake, says, to the White Friars.

had

had before enriched that at Worcester; whereupon Dr. Fuller's remark is, that now began an emulation in England amongst the monasteries, which of them should excel in possessing the most and best books. Mr. Wood thinks bishop Grosseteste built the two Franciscan libraries at Oxford (*a*). The Franciscan library was, however, in a most deplorable condition when Leland visited it (*b*). Mr. Brown tells us, that these unthrifty curators suffered the bishop's books to be transported to Durham (*c*); and Mr. Wood writes, that Dr. Thomas Gascoigne was by some means possessed of a good number of books belonging to the Franciscan library, and, amongst others, of St. Augustine's book *De Civitate Dei*, with marginal notes by bishop Grosseteste (*d*).

This amiable and accomplished friar is reported to have died in 1253, the same year with his friend the bishop (*e*); but it appears plainly from the account foregoing, that he survived that date many years; the time of his death is consequently uncertain. However, he is said to have been buried in the cathedral near the bishop, to the South. 'Sepultus est ob dolorem quem conceperat Lincolnæ, inter episcopum et parietem australem, Deo providente, ut sicut in vita erant amabiles et decori, ita non essent in morte divisi (*f*).'

Robert Bacon was either elder brother or uncle of the noted

(*a*) Wood, Hist. p. 77.

(*b*) Tanner, Biblioth. p. 351. Bishop Standish had given five marks to it but just before. Willis, St. Asaph, p. 244.

(*c*) Brown, Fascic. II. p. 329.

(*d*) Wood, Hist. p. 78.

(*e*) The Annals of Lanercost, treating of that year, and on the death of bishop Grosseteste, add 'Ipsum [Robertum] persecutus est quasi e vestigio eodem fatali anno Fr. Adam de Marisco, sibi super cæteros condilectus.' Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 342.

(*f*) Annales Lanercost, l. c.

Roger Bacon (*a*). He was a doctor, and public lecturer of Oxford, and growing old became a Dominican friar (*b*), and in St. Edward's schools belonging to that order continued his prelections many years. Matthew Paris tells us, that about the year 1233 Robert advised publicly in a sermon, that Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rivallis, his kinsman, should be driven out of the kingdom, in order to make a reconciliation between the king and the barons. This was particularly bold, considering the critical time, matters running then very high between the parties, and the barons refusing to attend the king at the parliament to be held at Oxford (*c*). Robert was the person who initiated St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, in the study of Divinity; but Bulæus (*d*) says, he was himself the scholar of that saint. However, he wrote Edmund's life (*e*), and is noticed by Leland as the particular acquaintance and intimate of bishop Grosseteste (*f*). The character Matthew of Westminster gives him is this, and it is the more extraordinary as coming from the pen of a monk; 'Obierunt quoque
' eodem anno duo fratres de eodem ordine [prædicatorum] qui-
' bus majores non erant, immo nec pares, ut creditur, in fini-
' bus Christianorum, in eruditione scientiæ, præcipue theologiæ,
' videlicet frater et magister Robertus cognomento *Bacon*, et
' Richardus de Fishakele; qui egregie plurimis annis in eadem

(*a*) Leland inclines to the latter opinion, and I think with reason. See Tanner's Bibliotheca. See, however, Leland's Itin. IX. p. 127.

(*b*) Roger Bacon was a Franciscan.

(*c*) Matthew Paris, p. 386; or Wood, Hist. p. 87.

(*d*) Hist. Acad. Paris. III. 708.

(*e*) See Tanner's Bibliotheca for this and the rest of his writings. We cannot, however, hence infer, that Robert was the archbishop's scholar, because he lived to be a very old man, which Edmund did not. Edmund died in 1240, and Robert in 1248. Leland ascribes this life to Roger Bacon.

(*f*) Tanner, Bibl. Brit. p. 545.

‘ facultate clero legerunt, atque populo prædicarunt (*a*).’ Whence it appears, as likewise from the list of his literary productions, that Robert’s excellence lay in theology, a particular which constitutes an essential difference in the character of him and Roger Bacon, who was eminently skilled in the mathematics and philosophy, as well as divinity, and perhaps more so. He died in 1248, and is supposed to have been buried in the Dominican convent at Oxford (*b*).

Alanus Beaucliff, or Belloclivus, was a familiar of bishop Grosseteste (*c*), as well may be expected, Alan being his countryman, if the bishop was born in Suffolk. Alan was an Oxonian, and made a conspicuous figure in the University. He removed thence to Paris, where he greatly improved himself, and, becoming a public reader in philosophy, and a clear interpreter of scripture, was much admired by the French (*d*).

Bishop Tanner offers a conjecture, that this Alan Beaucliff is the same person with Alan de Beccles, and I am clearly of the same opinion. Leland says, Matthew Paris has taken care his fame should not be forgotten; ‘ Non passus est tantam hominis gloriam Matthæus Parisius, fani Albani monachus, desperire. Quare in Historia sua primum locum inter eruditos ejus ætatis facile tribuit *Bellocливо*.’ Now Matthew nowhere mentions Beaucliff, but Beccles he does often, particularly in the year 1229 (*e*), where, speaking of those disturbances at Paris which occasioned the eminent English scholars to withdraw thence, he names Alan de Beccles (*f*) first, placing him before those other great

(*a*) Westminster, p. 342, from M. Paris, p. 747.

(*b*) This account is taken from Tanner’s *Bibliotheca* and Wood, *Hist.* pp. 64, 79. See also the account of Richard Fishacre, p. 235.

(*c*) Leland in Tanner, p. 545.

(*d*) Wood, p. 85.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 354.

(*f*) Beccles, alibi, and Bleccles; mistakes probably of his transcribers.

men, Nicholas de Fernham, John Bland, Ralph de Maidstone, and William de Duresme; this, therefore, seems to be the very passage hinted at by Leland in these words, *primum locum*, &c. cited above.

Admitting, then, that this was Alan de Beccles, he was reading at Paris in 1229; but whether he returned to England on the dispersion of the students abovementioned, or retired to Angers, as some of the seceders did, is uncertain.

In the year 1239, Adam de Beccles was one of the referees chosen by the parties to determine matters in the great quarrel then on foot between bishop Groffeteste and the dean and chapter of Lincoln (*a*), and was probably named by the bishop, being his friend and compatriot. This seems to corroborate the conjecture, that Alan de Beccles and Alan de Beaucliff, the bishop's friend, were one and the same. However, he must be allowed to have been a person of known wisdom and integrity; he would scarce else be employed by either side in such a knotty and momentous affair. Alan has no addition to his name in Matthew Paris, but, according to Le Neve, and the Monasticon (*b*), he was possessed of the archdeaconry of Sudbury in 1225 and 1226, which, perhaps, might be before he went to France; but, be this as it will, Matthew expressly styles him archdeacon of Sudbury (*c*) in 1240, on a very memorable occasion, which, however, I need not here recite.

Alan was also official to Pandulph and Thomas Blunvile, bishops of Norwich (*d*), and died in 1243, or soon after; and,

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 485. Brown, p. 361. The other two were Walter, bishop of Worcester, and the archdeacon of Worcester.

(*b*) Dugdale's Monasticon, III. p. 45.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 536, for *subir* there, no doubt, means *sudbir*, or Sudbury. Le Neve, p. 222. Brown, p. 361.

(*d*) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 15, Le Neve, p. 215.

if you will believe M. Paris in this particular, by a divine infliction. He had done some injury, in the estimation of that historian, to the monastery of St. Alban, and was stricken for it with sudden death. A very rash sentence, but the less to be wondered at, because the like instances of presumption are but too frequent in our monkish historians, and even in the very best of them.

Peter, lecturer in the school of Agnellus Pisanus, was the next successor to bishop Grosseteste in that office, and, undoubtedly, was the bishop's particular friend, as his lordship had taken that lecture into his more immediate care, recommending the Divinity-readers from time to time (*a*). The character given of Peter is, that he admirably discharged his function as a lecturer, and was remarkable for his piety and learning (*b*); but, being promoted to a see in Scotland (*c*), we know no more of him.

Richard Fishacre (*d*), if not of the city of Exeter, was at least a Devonshire man, and a Dominican friar (*e*). He studied at Oxford; first, in the college of the great hall of the University (*f*), but, afterwards taking the cowl, he removed to the Dominican convent, and was the first of the order that was ho-

(*a*) Wood, Hist. I. p. 71.

(*b*) Wood, ibidem.

(*c*) Peter Ramsey, bishop of Aberdeen, 1247---1256; and Petrus, bishop of Orkney, 1270---1284, are the only Scottish prelates of that name who occur in Keith's List.

(*d*) *Fisbakele*, M. Paris, p. 747. M. Westminster, p. 342. *Fizacrius*, Leland, *Fizacrius*, Wood. Hist. II. p. 61. *Fissacre*, Tanner; *Fiacrius*, Leland in Tanner, p. 63. *Fichacre* or *Fizakel*. Tanner Bibliotheca, p. xxxviii.

(*e*) Pits has two of the name; one the same person evidently, and the other differing no otherwise than that he is said to have flourished later, viz. in 1330, whence bishop Tanner, p. 282, concludes, and very reasonably, that, as they agreed in name, surname, country, profession, and productions, they were but one person. Wood, however, Hist. I. p. 65, follows Pits and James, in Ecloga Oxon. Cant. p. 31.

(*f*) Wood, II. p. 61.

noured with the theological doctorate. His learning is reported to have been general and extensive, and he made so great a proficiency in every branch, that he was esteemed one of the most learned. Aristotle was his principal favourite, whom he read and admired, and carried about with him (*a*). But from those philosophical exercises he passed on to the study of divinity, and became as eminent in this as before he had been in arts, which so endeared him to Robert Bacon, that the two friends were scarce ever asunder. And for this reason Leland thinks he studied at Paris along with Bacon, and there considerably improved his knowledge; but there may be some doubt of this (*b*).

Leland observes, that writers generally mention the two Dominican friends together, and that both in respect of their friendship and learning; and indeed the two Matthews, Paris and Westminster, have joined them (*c*), inasmuch that one needs not wonder, that, as Robert Bacon partook of the friendship of bishop Grosseteste, Fishacre should likewise come in for a share. They both died in one year, in 1248, whereupon Leland descants, ‘Quid quod ut in vita focii conjunctissimi fuere, ita ne morte quidem dividi potuerunt? Nam ut turtur, ereptam sociam lugens, commoritur, ita, extincto Bacono, nec potuit, nec voluit, supereffe Fizacrius. O raram, et omnibus sæculis prædicandam, amicitiam (*d*)!’ intimating, that Bacon died first

(*a*) Wood, pp. 64, 65.

(*b*) In the text Fishacre’s friend is called *Roger Bacon*, who actually did study at Paris; but Leland’s MS. in Coll. Trin. Cambr. has *Robert*, and this is the truth. So that Leland confounds the two Bacons, and, taking Robert for Roger, has carried Fishacre along with Roger to France, where Robert never studied, and where Fishacre consequently never did. For, there is no other evidence of Fishacre’s abode at Paris, but that his friend Robert Bacon went thither, which we find he did not do.

(*c*) See our account of Robert Bacon, p. 227, for the passages.

(*d*) Leland in Tanner, p. 545.

of the two. Richard was interred among the Dominicans at Oxford, probably near his friend Bacon. But, when these friars removed from the parish of St. Edward, without the walls of the city, they transferred the body, or at least the monument, of this learned man, to this new site, placing it near the West wall of the church (a).

John Bale is severe upon the memory of this scholar, calling him *homo inutilis, acer, et illiteratus*, but for this he appears to have no cause; for, Leland, on the contrary, speaks highly of him in point of worth as well as learning, saying, that to the friars preachers *omnium virtutum clarissimas imagines reliquit*; and Anth. à Wood accordingly styles him *coævo nemini secundus*. A list of his works may be seen in Leland and Bale.

William Shirewood (b) is particularly mentioned by Leland amongst those great men whom bishop Grosseteste honoured with his friendship (c), though he did not prefer him. He studied at Oxford, in the great hall of the University (d), and went thence to Paris, continuing his studies there for a considerable time, and with extraordinary success. William was made prebendary of Aylesbury in 1258, or 1260 (e), and treasurer of Lincoln in 1259 (f), and was in that post in 1267, reflecting great honour upon the dignity he enjoyed, by continu-

(a) Wood, Hist. I. p. 65, II. p. 61.

(b) *Schirwood, Syrewode, Scirwodd. Shirovodus.* Leland.

(c) Leland in Tanner, p. 545.

(d) Wood, Hist. II. p. 61.

(e) In his list of the prebendaries of Aylesbury, Browne Willis presumes he was the first who possessed this prebend after it was dismembered from the deanery of Lincoln on the promotion of Dean Roger Weseham to the see of Lichfield, 1245.

(f) So Tanner. See also Willis, pp. 88, 93. Wood, Hist. II. p. 61. Leland in Tanner by mistake calls him chancellor, and has mislaid some others. Wood, II. p. 56, makes him chancellor from Bacon, but then Wood took his testimony from Leland, who, in Collect. III. p. 333, writing from Bacon, has it rightly *treasurer*; and see his Itin. IV. p. 164, where perhaps *cancellarium* is falsely inserted.

ing his studies, and exercising every species of virtue. Roger Bacon, a man of a nice and exquisite judgement, dignifies him with an high encomium for his incomparable skill in the sciences, acknowledging that he was withal an excellent divine, and one of those few whom he could allow to be really such (*a*).

Leland conjectures that William Shirewood may be the same person with William of Durham (*b*), and Pits is positive in it. But the great antiquaries, Wood (*c*) and Tanner (*d*), do not assent to this. However, he was very active in assisting his friends the Oxonians in their embarrassment with Otho the legate, in 1238 (*e*), which shews, that he was returned from abroad before that year.

Frequent quarrels having happened at Oxford between the Irish students and the Northern men, certain masters and others were sworn, in 1252, on both sides, to keep the peace themselves, and not to screen the disturbers of it from justice, but to inform the chancellor of them, in case they would not be quiet and conformable. William was one of the jurors on the part of the North countrymen, whence it seems probable he was born in that part of England.

Wood seems to suggest, that he died in 1249 (*f*), but he appears above to have been living in 1267, and therefore I presume the time of his death is unknown. We do not find that his productions were numerous.

(*a*) Wood, Hist. p. 123.

(*b*) Vide supra, p. 265. Pat. Sanderson says, p. 124, William was a native of the county of Durham, and made archbishop of Rouen. temp. Hen. III.

(*c*) Wood, Hist. pp. 55, 61.

(*d*) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 668.

(*e*) Bale. Wood, Hist. p. 56.

(*f*) Wood, Hist. II. p. 55, compared with p. 56. See also Caius, p. 246. Wood gathers what he says from Leland, who wrote from M. Paris. But Leland only says, *the times conspire*, which they might do, though Shirewood over-lived William of Durham eighteen or twenty years.

The next person I shall name is *John de Offinton*, the pope's chaplain, and canon of Salisbury. The bishop and Adam de Marisco unite in a letter to press him to return to England, where his ministry and abilities would be so singularly useful. The bishop wrote the letter, and concludes with saying, 'Novit enim ipse scrutator cordium quòd ego et prædictus frater [Ad. de Marisco] de vestrà salute, et vestrà etiam (cum Dei beneplacito) promotione plus sumus solliciti quàm de alicujus clerici in hac vitâ degentis in habitu seculari.' This scholar died in 1251; and M. Paris says of him on the occasion, 'Quo non erat in Angliâ clericus celebrior (a).'

(a) M. Paris, p. 817.

C L E R K S preferred in the Church of L I N C O L N,
in the 18 years Presidency of Bishop GROSSETESTE.

Deans.

Roger de Weseham in 1239, by devolution to the bishop, made bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1245. See before in 1239, and 1245.

Henry de Lexinton, in all probability, was elected on the promotion of De Weseham to Lichfield (in 1245 he succeeded bishop Grosseteste in the see); but it may be justly queried, whether the bishop had any hand in his election to the deanery.

Precentors.

William de Blund in 1243, 1246. Willis, p. 83. His predecessor had it in 1234. Willis, p. 83. So that he was probably preferred by bishop Grosseteste; quere, if he was not the same person with William de Blundun, in A. Wood, p. 90, concerned in the riot at Oxford in 1238, and bailed by the bishop. He occurs in 1240 (*a*).

Peter de Aldham in 1250. Willis, pp. 83, 123, by the name of Aldeham, or Audham, he became archdeacon of Bedford.

Chancellors.

Nicholas de Wadingham, or Wadigham (*b*), occurs in 1240; but he might be preferred by bishop De Welles. He occurs

(*a*) Hugh Patishul, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, impowered that year William dean of Lichfield, and William precentor of Lincoln, to make an ordination respecting the church of Ashbourn, in the county of Derby. Dean's Chartulary.

(*b*) Tanner in Bibliotheca Britannica.

occurs 1259, Willis, p. 88, or in 1248, as Le Neve has it; but, as he was treasurer about 1246, he probably resigned the chancellorship for this dignity (*a*); but he must again have been made chancellor, if he was such, either in 1248 or 1259 (*b*). See Tanner's Bibliotheca, pp. 546, 744. Gunton, p. 206.

Nic. Wadingham. See chancellors above.

Ralph de Leicester, collated 1248; ob. 22 March, 1253. Willis, p. 92.

Subdean.

Hugh de Hoketon, in 1253 and 1264. His predecessor, William de Benningworth, had this office 1241. Willis, p. 96. Le Neve, ex registro Walter de Grey, archiep'i Ebor. 1231.

Archdeacons of Lincoln.

Thomas Wallensis, collated 1238, became bishop of St. David's in 1248. See before.

William Lupus, made 1248, from Worcester, archdeacon, deprived, 1255. See the foregoing history.

Archdeacons of Huntingdon.

William occurs 1241, but might be made by De Welles. See more of him in the account of John de Basing, and Willis, p. 106.

F..... made in 1245 or 1246. Brown, p. 390.

Roger de Raveningham, so styled, 14 April, 1258. Le Neve, ex collect. Kennet; and again, 1260. Chron. Dunstap.

(*a*) So Shirewood resigned the chancellorship for the treasury. Willis, p. 93, thinks he never was chancellor, because he found him treasurer. I presume the treasury might be more profitable, though the chancellor had precedence.

(*b*) See more of him in Tanner's Bibliotheca.

Archdeacon of Northampton.

Giles de Rous, called Rufus, made in 1246. Willis, p. 110.
Le Neve.

Archdeacons of Leicester.

John de Basingstoke occurs 1238, died 1252. See the foregoing history.

Solomon, in 1252. Willis, p. 112. 1253. Le Neve.

Archdeacons of Oxford.

Roger de Weseham, made in 1236. See the deans.

Walter, in 1244 Wood, p. 93.

Robert de Marisco, in 1248. Wood, p. 94; he was the bishop's official too. Ibid.

Richard, in 1250. Brown, Fascic. II. p. 250. Richard Mepham, 1263. Le Neve.

Henry de Sandwich, 1259, 1262. Le Neve. Quere.

Peter Lemonis, 1261. Willis, p. 116, but q.

Archdeacon of Bucks.

Archdeacon of Bedford.

John de Crakehale, made in 1244; died possessed of it, and the rectory of Shitlington, 1259. Willis, p. 123. 1260. Le Neve, ex Matth. Westm.

Archdeacons of Stow.

Gilbert had it 1240; but quere, as he might be made by De Welles. Willis, p. 126.

Michael occurs in 1259. Willis, p. 127, but quere. Le Neve mentions Simon de Barton as made 1259, and dying 1280.

Pre-

Prebendaries.

Nicolas de Evesham occurs prebendary of Lidington in 1247. Willis, p. 209.

Richard Cornubia, prebend of St. Martin's. Willis, p. 217. Brown, Fascic. II. p. 337. Wood, Hist. I. p. 96.

T . . . prebendary of Buckden in 1245, 1246. Brown, p. 390. Nicolas, the Greek. See in 1248.

After being so particular in speaking of the bishop's clerks and intimates, if I should only recite the names of his other friends, acquaintance, and correspondents, from Mr. Brown's edition of his lordship's epistles, and some other authors, it may be thought sufficient.

Ægidius, cardinal, II. pp. 332, 336, 337. M. Paris, pp. 872, 916.

Arden, S. the bishop's agent at Rome, pp. 335, 348, 359.

S. de Ardourn, rector of Abbe Ketelby, in the county of Leicester, was collated to Coleby in 1241. Grosseteste's roll.

Alardus, magister. Wood II. p. 389.

Beleth, Michael, p. 311. M. Paris, p. 421.

Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, pp. 365, 366, 367, bis, 395.

Bacon, Roger. Wood, Hist. I. p. 106.

Crakhall, John de. pp. 325, 370. M. Paris, p. 877.

Cantilupe, Walter de, bishop of Worcester, pp. 378, 388.

Clare, Richard de, earl of Gloucester. Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 342.

Queen Eleanor, p. 380.

Ernulf, the pope's penitentiary, pp. 334, 335.

Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, pp. 313, 325, 326, 327.

Ferentino, John de, the pope's chamberlain, pp. 335, 349.

- Gregory IX. pp. 331, 348, 357, 361.
 Gray, Walter, archbishop of York, p. 389.
 H cardinal priest, p. 388.
 Hemingburg, Walter de, a clerk, p. 359.
 Hales, Robert de, archdeacon of Lincoln, p. 338.
 Helias, minister general of the Franciscans, p. 334.
 Henry, III. pp. 378, 390, 393, 394.
 Jordan, general of the Dominicans, p. 334.
 Innocent IV. pp. 386, 389, 399, 400.
 Kirkham, Richard de, pp. 369, 375, 376.
 Leonard, agent, p. 201.
 Martin, chamberlain and nuncio of the pope, p. 381. M.
 Paris, passim.
 Nevil, Ralph, bishop of Chichester, p. 346.
 Norwold, Hugh, bishop of Ely, p. 375.
 Otto, legate, pp. 339, 342, 345, 356, 358, 380, 384.
 Patishillis, [Patshull] Hugh de, bishop of Lichfield, p. 324.
 Paris, Matthew. Ipse, p. 736, & Addittament. p. 162.
 Raleigh, or Ralleger, William de, pp. 314, 316, 323, 388.
 M. Paris, passim.
 Reimund, a Dominican, p. 333. Cave, p. 627.
 R cardinal deacon, p. 348.
 Romanus, John, subdean, afterwards precentor, and in 1285,
 archbishop of York, p. 351.
 Richardus Cornubiensis, chancellor of York. Wood, pp. 96, 98.
 { Thomafius, cardinal, p. 335.
 { Thomas, cardinal, p. 350.
 Theobald Stampensis. Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 708.
 W. bishop of Paris, p. 357.

TESTIMONIES; WITH A SKETCH OF THE BISHOP'S CHARACTER.

FEW authors, antient or modern, ever mention bishop Grosseteste without an eulogium; and, certainly, if the character given of the *Baptist* be applicable to any other person, Grosseteste, for the strictness of his life and manners and his zeal for religion, seems to be best intitled to it; for, he was *a burning and a shining light* (a), and, in respect of the age in which he flourished, it may be as justly added, *in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation* (b); the papal tyranny over the ecclesiastics of this kingdom, against which our prelate made such a noble stand, and the incroachments of the see of Rome upon the prerogatives of the crown, being at no time more intolerable and outrageous, or more firmly established, than at the beginning of the thirteenth century. By thus exerting himself in season, and raising his voice in defence of our civil and religious rights, he became an eminent forerunner of that *discession*, as the cardinals called it (c), that *reformation*, which, in process of time, in God's own appointed time, was sure to take place in a church so corrupt, and so insufferably and outrageously tyrannical.

(a) John v. 35.

(b) Philip. ii. 15.

(c) M. Paris, p. 872.

Archbishop Bradwardine thought bishop Groffeteste was an humble imitator of the life and actions of Augustine, the first archbishop of Canterbury (*a*). We do not certainly know what peculiar lights the archbishop, who wrote his book in the 14th century, might be possessed of concerning both Augustine and Groffeteste more than we, but in those lives of Augustine which I have seen (*b*), I cannot discern the least similitude between him and the bishop of Lincoln (*c*).

Mr. Brown institutes a comparison between Robert Groffeteste and Robert Sanderson, both bishops of Lincoln (*d*), and the resemblance is far more striking than between the former pair. Bishop Sanderson was unquestionably a great man; one of the brightest luminaries of his age, well skilled in the languages, a considerable antiquary, an acute judicious casuist, and a profound divine, but yet it may be doubted whether in learning and abilities he was equal to his predecessor Groffeteste, all circumstances considered, and all proper deductions made for the improved state of literature in his time. Groffeteste's genius was enterprizing, his head clear and strong, his natural parts lively, and his attainments in every branch of learning, and in some then but little known here, perfectly wonderful and surprizing, regarding the general ignorance and illiteracy of the 13th century, to say nothing of his invincible ardour and spirit.

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. I. p. 5, citing Bradwardine, lib. III.

(*b*) M. Parker, p. 61, seq. 565, seq. Godwyn de præsul. p. 28. seq. Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 56.

(*c*) Augustine was arrogant and assuming; so conceited of his own merits, that pope Gregory was obliged to humble his vanity. Bede, p. 72. Whereas bishop Groffeteste always speaks of himself in the most depreciating terms. So different were they in carriage and temper! as also in knowledge and learning! Augustine was but an ignorant and illiterate monk, as appears from his questions to Gregory.

(*d*) Brown, Fascic. II. p. 409,

It would amount to a whole volume were we to collect the various testimonies given of our bishop by all kinds of writers (*a*); inasmuch that we find it necessary to confine ourselves to a few authentic contemporaries, and the best approved authors.

The early commendation of him by Giraldus Cambrensis has been already introduced (*b*), and therefore it may suffice to adduce, besides the words of M. Paris, those of Nic. Trivet, Roger Bacon, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, London, and of king Edward I., who was in his fifteenth year when Grosseteste died. As to the rest I shall refer you to my learned friend Mr. Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, I. p. 47.

M. Paris writes, 'Migravit igitur ab hujusmodi mundi quem nunquam dilexit, exilio, sanctus Lincolnienſis episcopus Robertus secundus, apud Bagedonam manerium (*c*) suum nocte St. Dionysii. Domini papæ et regis redargutor manifestus, prælatorum correptor, monachorum corrector, presbyterorum director, clericorum instructor, scholarium sustentator, populi prædicator, incontinentiæ persecutor, scripturarum sedulus perscrutator diversarum, Romanorum malleus et contemptor. In mensa refectiōis corporalis, dapſilis, copiosus, et civilis, hilaris et affabilis. In mensa vero spiritali, devotus, lachrymosus, et contritus. In officio pontificali, sedulus, venerabilis, et infatigabilis (*d*).'

So when, upon that absolute refusal of the bishop to obey the pope's scandalous and impious injunction, and his bold and spirited remonstrance consequent upon it, the old pontiff was most

(*a*) A few have been collated by the editor of part of the bishop's book, 'De Cessatione Legalium.'

(*b*) Page 16 above.

(*c*) Manor-house, or palace.

(*d*) M. Paris, p. 876.

immoderately offended, and threatened the bishop, in his outrage and fury, with his power to punish him; Giles, a Spanish cardinal (*a*), and others of his brethren, represented to his holiness, that it was by no means proper or convenient to animadvert upon the bishop, since what he alledged was no more than consonant to truth, and that he was ‘Catholicus imò et
 ‘sanctissimus, nobis religiosior, nobis et sanctior, excellentior,
 ‘et excellentioris vitæ, ita ut non credatur inter omnes prelatos
 ‘majorem, imò nec parem, habere. Novit hoc *Gallicana* et *An-*
 ‘*glicana* cleri universitas; nostra non prevaleret contradictio.
 ‘Hujusmodi epistolæ (*b*) veritas, quæ jam forte multis innotuit,
 ‘multos contra nos poterit commovere. Magnus enim habetur
 ‘philosophus, Latinis et Græcis literis ad plenum eruditus, re-
 ‘lator justitiæ, lector in theologia scholis, prædicator in populo,
 ‘castitatis (*c*) amator, persecutor Simonialium.’ And thus the cardinals advised him to dissemble the matter, and in prudence to let it pass unnoticed (*d*).

Trivet says, ‘Hic [Grossum caput] excellentis vir sapientiæ
 ‘fuit, ac lucidissimæ doctrinæ, totiusque exemplar virtutis. Qui
 ‘licet de imâ gente Suthfolchiæ, Northwicensis diœcesis, originem
 ‘traxerit, tamen bonam naturæ indolem præceptis scripturarum
 ‘exercens, produxit animum generosum. . . . Doctor vero in
 ‘triplici lingua eruditus, Latina, Hebræa, et Græca, multa de
 ‘Glossis Hebræorum extraxit, et de Græco multa transferri fecit,
 ‘ut puta testamenta duodecim patriarcharum et libros Dionysii,
 ‘quorum novam translationem perlucide commentavit. Hic

(*a*) See a good character of this cardinal in M. Paris, p. 916.

(*b*) The letter sent to the pope, which so greatly exasperated him.

(*c*) Wharton, p. 341, where the bishop declared, he would not for all the world stay one night alone with his own sister in the same house.

(*d*) M. Paris, p. 872.

‘ fratres ordinis, tam prædicatorum quam Minorum, sincerâ caritate amplectens, eos habuit continuè in comitivâ suâ, delicias computans cum eis de scripturis conferre, &c (a).’

Roger Bacon, though very sparing of his commendations, abounds in the praises of our bishop, particularly in regard to his learning. Speaking of translating authors, he says, ‘ Sed nemo scivit linguas (b) nisi dominus Robertus episcopus Lyncoln. per longitudinem vitæ et experientiæ, et studiositatem ac diligentiam; quoniam scivit mathematicam et perspectivam, et potuit omnia scire; simul cum hoc quod tantum scivit de linguis, quod potuit intelligere sanctos, et philosophos, et sapientes antiquos; sed non bene scivit linguas ut transferret, nisi circa ultimum vitæ suæ, quando vocavit Græcos, et fecit libros grammaticæ Græcæ et alios congregari, &c (c).’ In his book, “De Mathematicis,” he writes, ‘ Ideo nullus potest pervenire ad notitiam istius scientiæ per modum vulgatum, nisi qui ponat xxx vel xl annos, ut planum est in iis qui floruerant in his scientiis, sicut dominus Robertus sælicis memoriæ nuper episcopus Lyncoln. ecclesiæ, et Fr. Adam de Marisco, et Mr. Johannes Hendover, et hujusmodi, et ideo pauci student in hac scientiâ, &c (d).’ And again, in his “Opus Majus,” ‘ Inveni enim sunt viri famosissimi, ut episcopus Robertus Lincolnensis, et frater Adam de Marisco, et multi alii; qui non potestatem mathematicæ sciverunt causas omnium explicare, et tam humana quam divina sufficienter exponere. Hujus autem rei certitudo

(a) Nic. Trivet, p. 204.

(b) Nullus scientias. Bacon in Leland’s Collect. III. p. 334, which seems to be right, as the *tongues* are mentioned after.

(c) Roger Bacon, apud Wood, p. 82. Leland in Collect. III. p. 334. has, ‘ Grammaticæ Græcæ de Græcia, et aliis congregari;’ *locis* seems to be understood, to agree with *aliis*.

(d) Ibidem.

‘ patet in scriptis illorum virorum, ut de impressionibus (a), si-
 ‘ cut de iride et cometis, et de generatione caloris, et locorum
 ‘ mundi investigatione, et de cœlestibus, et aliis, quibus tam
 ‘ theologia quam philosophia utitur (b).’

Richard Ullerston, i. e. Ulverston, who flourished in 1408, was so great an admirer of bishop Grosseteste, ‘ ut pro tempore
 ‘ suo lucem et lucernam hujus mundi fuisse prædicavit (c);’ and it is observed by Henry Wharton, a very competent judge, that Ullerston, in his excellent work, intituled “ Petitiones quoad Re-
 ‘ formationem ecclesiæ militantis (d),’ particularly followed the notions and sentiments of our prelate, as being singularly well versed in his writings (e).

The dean and chapter of St. Paul’s speak nobly of him, in their letter to pope Clement V. soliciting his canonization in the year 1307: ‘ Sanè à vestrà Lincoln. ecclesiâ quidam recondendæ memoriæ
 ‘ Robertus Grosseteste nomine, vir memorabilis et præclarus, tan-
 ‘ quam lucerna non sub modio posita, sed super candelabrum pro-
 ‘ diit, atque lampas cujus oleum ad illuminandum immitente Altif-
 ‘ simo nunquam deest; quem primitus filium, et post patrem, ipsius
 ‘ ecclesiæ patrona edidit virgo mater; qui in hujus mundi ergastulo
 ‘ a vitæ suæ primævo certamine acri et sedulo carnis domuit incen-
 ‘ tiva; et quanto super cunctos ejus temporis eminebat philosophos,
 ‘ et in Dei scientiâ et doctrinâ anteibat theologos, quod testantibus
 ‘ suorum scriptorum famosissimorum opusculis modernos non latet
 ‘ scholasticos, adeò ejus aucto ex gratiâ divinâ ingenio quòd unicus

(a) See Catalogue of the Bishop’s Works, inter *Philosoph. inedita*.

(b) Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, p. 64. Edit. Jebb. More testimonies of Bacon occur in *Anglia Sacra*, II. p. 344.

(c) Cave, *Hist. Lit.* p. 74. Append. Edit. 1705.

(d) MS. in Trinity College Library, Cambridge; and in Corpus Christi and Magdalen College Libraries. Tanner, *Biblioth.* p. 740.

(e) Cave, *Hist. Lit.* p. 74. Append. Edit. 1705.

‘ dixisse

‘dixisse potuit cum Psalmistâ, *super omnes docentes me intellexi* (a);
 ‘tanto humilior, simplicior, et sanctior, ut innocens atque mun-
 ‘dus in vitæ deguit puritate. Cujus sanctitatis opinio longe la-
 ‘teque percrebescebat et fama. Qui funditus terrena despiciens,
 ‘toto nisu mentis ad sola aspirabat cælestia et flagrabat. Quem
 ‘demum pastoralis ut dignum vestigio (b) creator omnium Deus
 ‘ad præfulatûs officium in dictâ ecclesiâ censuit evocandum;
 ‘eumque quasi alterum Joseph constituit dominum domûs suæ;
 ‘ubi in spectaculum positus et exemplum, verbo ædificationis
 ‘insistens, quod verbis docebat operibus exhibebat (c).’

And the king's letter, who spoke not only his own, but the
 sense of the whole nation, runs much in the same strain; ‘Fœlicis
 ‘itaque memoriæ Robertus quondam Lincolnienſis episcopus,
 ‘Dei famulus, vir utique in ergastulo carnis positus, excellens
 ‘meritis, vitæ sanctitate præclarus, et velut stella matutina in
 ‘medio nebulæ, et quasi lucerna non sub modio sed supra can-
 ‘delabrum posita, disperſit aliis lumen sapientiæ et doctrinæ, in
 ‘domo Domino virtutum, jubare adeo coruscando, quod tandem
 ‘in divini nominis confessione legitimè certans, et contra mun-
 ‘dum, carnem, et dæmonem triumphans, athleta non degener,
 ‘confessor inclytus, et virtutum opifex, pastor bonus in populo,
 ‘cursum vitæ perlustrans miraculis vires et potentiam naturalem
 ‘excedentibus, feliciter consummavit, de peregrino civis cœlestis
 ‘effectus, et beatorum confessorum agminibus aggregatus. Hæc
 ‘de ipso agonista nobili tenet ecclesia Anglicana, hæc pontificalis
 ‘narrat autoritas, hæc memoria seniorum retinet, clerus in-
 ‘dicat, militia meminit, testatur populus, et omnis utriusque
 ‘sexûs ætas, recenter quodammodo velut a patribus nuntiata

(a) Psalm cxviii. 99.

(b) *Lege fastigio.*

(c) Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 343.

‘filiis, recordatur (a).’ So much for the testimonies of authors.

Though much concerning bishop Groffeteste’s character, his actions, and connexions, has appeared in the preceding sheets, which are more in number than was at first expected, yet a summary, in respect of the particular first above-mentioned, may reasonably be demanded from me in this place.

The bishop was in himself polite and courtly, notwithstanding the lowness of his extraction (b), and even educated several of the young nobility in his family (c). He kept a splendid and magnificent table on proper occasions (d), but does not appear to have frequented the court much, the king complaining of him upon this head (e). He was little engaged in public business, or, indeed, in any worldly affairs, which he ever seems studiously to have avoided as much as possible (f); not but he attended his duty in parliament, and sometimes would strenuously exert himself there; and, when matters of business happened to arise in his diocese, was very adroit and steady in conducting them, insomuch that I do not remember more than one instance of his miscarrying (g), in all the various broils and squabbles which he had with the pope, the king, the abbats or others; on the contrary, they all terminated successfully, which, no doubt, must in a great measure be owing to the clearness of his head, in conjunction with that courage and constancy, that

(a) Wood, p. 105, and Appendix N° XIX.

(b) See Appendix, N II.

(c) Joh. Athon ad Constitut. Othebon. p. 122. The sons of Simon Montfort in particular. M. Paris, p. 998.

(d) M. Paris, p. 876. Appendix, N° II.

(e) Brown, Fascic. p. 378.

(f) ‘Migravit igitur,’ says M. Paris of him, p. 876, ‘ab hujus modi mundi, quem nunquam dilexit, exilio, &c.

(g) See in the year 1250, where he was ill-used by the pope.

firmness of mind, with which he was by nature endowed, and for which he is so much celebrated (*a*); indeed, his vigour and spirit in prosecuting the business and duties of his function, as he esteemed them, were truly admirable, considering the powerful adversaries he often had to contend with, the monasteries, the nobles, the crown, and at last the papacy, whose fulminations he could so nobly despise.

“Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solida.—”

HOR. 3 Od. III.

The goodness of his lordship's heart transpires in every page of his epistles; an ardent love of God and Christ his Saviour (*b*); the strictest conformity to the morality of the Scriptures, which he perfectly understood, and a constant fear and dread lest he should offend in any one instance; whence sprang that scrupulous tenderness of conscience both in regard to himself and others; for, it is very remarkable, that he would voluntarily take much pains to prevent his friends from running into irregularity, or even into the appearance of it. Another happy effect of that exact knowledge he had of the rules of life laid down in Scripture, and his close invariable attachment to them, was, that, though his natural temper was hasty and irascible, yet he was humble and modest, and desirous of better information, a pregnant instance of which we have in his letters to the dean and chapter of Lincoln, on occasion of that unreasonable opposition they made to him.

(*a*) Rapin, p. 354. Few authors speak of Robert without acknowledging this as a predominant quality in his character.

(*b*) The bishop seldom speaks of the Saints, or even of the Blessed Virgin.

In his manners and course of life he was remarkably strict and abstemious, being scarcely exceeded in this by his inmates, the friars, in their golden and best days. He was charitable and hospitable, and particularly eminent for his continence, in which he was not only severe in his own person, but was very rigid in enquiring into and punishing all offences against this virtue both in the clergy and laity. Indeed, in discharging the offices of his function, he was so great a disciplinarian as to border, as was sometimes thought, upon rigour and austerity (*a*); and yet it is acknowledged by M. Paris, who is much disposed to blame him upon this article, that he did nothing but with the purest intention; and, what was more than equally material in the case, the most exceptionable of his acts proceeded from a person most exemplary in himself, and of an irreproachable character in every station of life; so that, as he never could be charged with partiality in any instance, but only adhered invariably to the dictates and suggestions of his own mind, the clergy, and even the monks, submitted the more readily to his sentences and determinations. The resignation of William de Hotot (*b*), and the voluntary migrations of Henry de Bilenda (*c*), and prior Eudo (*d*), unto a house of stricter discipline, are a clear evidence of the justice and equity, and even the candour (*e*), of his lordship's proceedings against them.

To speak next of his pastoral care in general (*f*); the salvation of souls was perpetually in his thoughts and in his mouth;

(*a*) So Monsieur Du Pin observes, the bishop had an ardent piety, 'and a zeal for the heat of it, perhaps hardly excusable.' Vol. XI. p. 63.

(*b*) Page 168.

(*c*) Page 169.

(*d*) Ibidem.

(*e*) We have pregnant instances of his lordship's candour, pp. 53, 57, 128, 189.

(*f*) He appears to have written four tracts on this subject, see hereafter.

but

but he would extend the idea sometimes to matters which were but little connected with it ; however, he preached often to his clergy himself, as appears, both from the foregoing detail, and the catalogue of his works (*a*) (though sometimes he employed his friars in that service), laying down their duty in the plainest manner, and enforcing it upon them with the utmost energy and strength of expression. The qualifications of the clergy, to speak generally, were at this time but mean ; for, in one place, after recommending to them a regular life, his lordship only requires, ‘ Ut sciat unusquisque secundum fidem rectam ea
 ‘ saltem subditis exponere, sine quibus non potest salus consistere,
 ‘ et, quibus observatis, salus non potest abesse ; ut sciat saltem
 ‘ simpliciter articulos fidei et decem mandata decalogi ; et quæ
 ‘ sunt vitia criminalia, et qualis sit salutis sufficiens poenitentia (*b*) ;’ and yet, as we learn from the former part of that discourse, his lordship had a very high notion of the rank and dignity of the clergy. As to their duty, and the arduousness of their office, he has admirably described this in his letter to Thomas Wallæus :
 ‘ Non enim, terrente nos amore Dei, ausi fuimus tantam curam
 ‘ animarum alicui conferre, nisi ei qui ipsam curam per se præsen-
 ‘ tialiter vellet agere. Ipsa enim cura, ut tu etiam bene nosti, non
 ‘ mediocriter magna est, sed magna valde, egens rectore semper
 ‘ præsentem, vigilanter, prudenter, diligenter, ac potenter, eidem
 ‘ intendente ; qui verbum Domini opportunè, importunè, præ-
 ‘ dicet, seipsum exemplum bonorum operum præstet, cum dicet
 ‘ monita salutis et non exauditur, anxie doleat, uberrimè fleat,
 ‘ qui etiam manus suas ab omni munere excutiat, poenas pecuni-
 ‘ arias a delinquentibus in delictorum punitionem acceptas tam

(*a*) See also Brown, p. 338.

(*b*) Brown, p. 260. Our Appendix, N° VI. art. 1, 2, 3, 4.

‘evidenter in pios usus expendat, ut propter earum receptionem
 ‘nulla possit cupiditatis notâ denigrari; qui insuper, cum accu-
 ‘satum justè possit absolvere (*a*), congaudeat; cum ex justitia quen-
 ‘quam condemnare cogitur, ex compassione condoleat; quem
 ‘etiam a veritate judicii non flectant amor aut odium, timor aut
 ‘spes, preces aut precium, seu aliqua acceptio personarum, nec
 ‘decipiat, ut a vero judicio deviet, sententia plurimorum; cu-
 ‘jus deliciae sint sobrietas et abstinencia, cujus quies labores et
 ‘vigiliae, cujus totum desiderium sit animabus prodesse; cui sic
 ‘præesse grave et onerosum tantum propter bonum aliorum sit
 ‘hoc onus humiliter susceptum fortiterque portatum (*b*).’ From
 a just sense of the importance of the care, his lordship was ac-
 cordingly very averse to giving his preferments at the recom-
 mendation of others; he chose to dispose of them himself, and
 to those whom he personally knew to be good men; and would
 not only offer them to such, as we see in this case of Thomas
 Walleus (*c*), but even press them to take and accept them, of
 which I have put a remarkable instance in the Appendix (*d*);
 and it was on the very same principle that he urged John de
 Offinton to return to England (*e*).

The bishop, again, was equally strict and severe in regard to
 candidates (*f*), vicarages, monasteries (*g*), and the deportment
 of the ecclesiastics in general, of which many examples occur
 in the foregoing pages. And he protests strongly against plu-

(*a*) It was an archdeaconry, as well as a rectory, to which he had collated Thomas.

(*b*) Brown, p. 340. See also pp. 260, 365, 368.

(*c*) See also Brown, p. 337.

(*d*) Appendix, N° XIV.

(*e*) Brown, p. 391.

(*f*) He gave a youth ten marks per ann. rather than institute him. Brown, p. 314; and see pp. 325, 352.

(*g*) Brown, p. 325.

ralities, foreign incumbents, simoniacs (*a*), clerks intermeddling in secular affairs, and dispensations (*b*). Neither had he any respect of persons in his animadversions; witness his citation of the great earl Warren, and the suspension of his chaplain (*c*).

He was also particularly tender of his friends, lest they should undertake burthens and employments prejudicial to the good of their souls; not scrupling, in his zeal, to write to them, or others, about their proceedings (*d*), as also upon this ground, lest by his connivance, or not preventing an evil, when it was in his power, he should partake of the party's guilt, to the hurt and danger of his own soul.

In short no prelate ever applied more conscientious care and caution, more diligence and assiduity, more vigour and spirit, in the discharge of the episcopal function, than Grosseteste did; especially if we take into the account the visitations, at first begun by him, and the continual instructions he gave to his archdeacons (*e*). So that what M. Paris says of him is literally no more than the truth: 'In officio pontificali sedulus, venerabilis, et infatigabilis.'

As the bishop's integrity was inflexible, so was his piety ardent and unremitting, as is confessed by all.

In point of religion, the Papists are very desirous of having bishop Grosseteste for their own (*f*); and it must be acknow-

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 872.

(*b*) Brown, p. 372.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 345.

(*d*) Brown, pp. 324, 326, 327, seq. See also p. 363 for his letter to archbishop Edmund. He was particularly solicitous that archbishop Boniface, whose unfitness and incapacity he was well aware of, might have proper assistance, p. 388.

(*e*) Brown, pp. 314, 340, 382, 386.

(*f*) See Brown, p. 406.

ledged that his lordship was much with them *doctrinally*, that is, his religion was that of the time (*a*), and, therefore, when bishop Kennet observes, that *religion and ecclesiastical discipline* suffered much by his death (*b*); the former must not be understood of the purity of doctrine as contained in the Scriptures, but of his personal piety and virtue,

— ardens evexit ad æthera virtus.

He had at first an high opinion of the power of the keys, and the personal authority of the pope (*c*); but at last, in a case manifestly unscriptural and injurious to the welfare of religion, he openly contemned it, and even did not regard dying in a state of excommunication. His lordship again, at one time, had conceived a most elevated idea of the hierarchy in general, thinking it superior to the regal dignity (*d*). To this he was led, exceeding therein even *Becket* himself, by the authority of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (*e*), and this is the best excuse that can be made for him; the blindness of the times being such, that men of the best learning, and the greatest acuteness, had not critical skill sufficient, though this be the first and proper object of criticism, to distinguish a palpably pseudepigraphous composition from the true word of God. His lordship, however, afterwards changed his mind in regard to the hierarchy (*f*).

(*a*) See Brown, p. 345. It does not appear to me, that any advances were made, either by bishop Grosseteste, or in his time, towards a reformation of religion in point of doctrine.

(*b*) Kennet's Par. Ant. p. 248.

(*c*) He styles him the type and representation of Christ. M. Paris, p. 876, which is very horrible and shocking. See H. Steph. Apolog. pour Herodote, l. p. 169.

(*d*) Brown, p. 397.

(*e*) Appendix, N° XII. See also in Brown, pp. 320, 393.

(*f*) See Mr. Brown, pp. 322, 397.

The Papists, on their side, must allow, that bishop Grosseteste in his last moments did not by any means approve the conduct of the church and court of Rome (a). He had penetration enough to discern clearly, notwithstanding his former prejudices and prepossessions, the iniquitous practices of both; the venality of that court in general; the scandalous and tyrannical usurpations of the Holy See on the rights and liberties of the Church of England by the Papal *provisions*, and the wicked and impudent clauses contained in the bulls of *non obstante*; so that he made no scruple of representing his holiness Innocent IV. as a downright heretick and antichrist, and of proving him to be such by force of argument. And I must think, that, apart from the bishop's piety and learning, which seem to be confessed on all hands, his steady and peremptory opposition to the villanous designs and incroachments of the church and court of Rome, and his explicit condemnation of them, at the close of life, form the brightest part of his character; and, consequently, that, had his lordship fallen in better and more enlightened times, when points formerly taken for granted, as principles not to be controverted, were more maturely canvassed and considered, his ideas on many religious topics would have been greatly enlarged, and he would not have been at all averse to a separation from a church so venal and corrupt as that of Rome, nor to a reformation both of her doctrines and discipline. He was indisputably a great master of the Scriptures, having spent much time in them through the whole course of a long life, and commented upon them in such various forms; but still those books were far better understood afterwards, towards the dawn of the Reformation; and then, as he wanted not courage and resolution to

(a) See above in 1253, and Brown, p. 397.

abide by the truth when once he had found it, maugre all the fervility of his own age to an imperious and insolent pontiff, one has good ground for thinking, that, had he lived in the sixteenth instead of the thirteenth century, bishop Groffeteste would probably have taken the lead amongst the Reformers (*a*), as in him would have been enjoined all the fire and spirit of Luther, with the decency, the acuteness, and erudition of Cranmer, Erasmus, and Calvin.

To proceed to his learning as a proper introduction to the ensuing Catalogue of his works, I shall only add to what has been advanced upon this head (*b*), that his lordship was a severe student to the very end of life; that he was a master of languages, of some that were then not generally known, and also of every branch of learning, both human and divine, as they were then usually studied and professed; and that he improved many of them by the productions of his own pen. His erudition was truly multifarious, so that he may justly be said, both in respect of himself and his own acquirements, and of that general patronage and encouragement which he afforded the Literati of his time, to stand at the head, in this country at least, of all the learning of the age. Thomas Wallæus and Adam de Marisco were no doubt men of genius, and admirably accomplished, but they were but clients and secondaries to his lordship, who always takes the lead in Roger Bacon's works. The bishop's forte, if you exclude his skill in the tongues, seems to have been logic, philosophy, and theology; he was inti-

(*a*) ' Qui enim bonus vir et præstans et doctus evadit, quando nec bonitas nec præstantia nec doctrina quicquam valent prouldubio foret longe major, si illi contingerent tempora excellentiæ illius animi paria; et qui perspicax est in tempore tenebroso, perspicacior esset claro et luculento, &c.' Brown, p. 248.

(*b*) Page 15.

mately acquainted with the Scriptures (*a*), making great use of his friars in perfecting himself in them to the very last hour of his life; and it was on account of the expertness of the friars, as scripturists, and at the same time endowed with a happy talent for preaching, which they were ever ready to exert, that he so openly preferred them to the monks, gave them all the countenance and encouragement in his power, and selected them for his choicest and most intimate friends.

To conclude; it seems to have been a felicity, that his lordship died before the barons wars broke out; for, though he was little conversant in state-affairs, nor much addicted to worldly matters in general, yet he appears to have been a friend to the nobles, and all along to have encouraged them, as might be expected from a man of his generous and public spirit, when he saw the liberties of his country so openly violated and trampled upon, and the king so regardless of his promises and oaths to grant the proper redress (*b*). Who knows how far motives of friendship, in regard to Simon Mountfort, might have carried him? or his avowed disaffection, at last, towards the Papacy might have operated upon a man of his warm temper? M. Paris writes expressly concerning the bishop and earl Simon, 'Qui quidem episcopus dicitur injunxisse sibi (*c*) in remissionem peccatorum, ut hanc causam, pro qua certavit usque ad mor-

(*a*) This acquisition was of singular use to him in his sermons, &c. for, according to St. Augustine, De doctr. xli. iv. c. 5. 'Sapienter dicit homo tanto magis & minus, quanto in scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit.'

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 998; and see above on the year 1252 and 1253. M. Paris mentions him particularly as a patriot.

(*c*) *Illi*, i. e. Earl Simon. *Se* is often used in the monkish writers, particularly in Matthew, for the oblique cases of *ille*. Bede, p. 127. Dugl. Mon. III. pp. 258. Ingulfus, pp. 2, 40, &c. Nennius, c. 41. Annal. Dunstap. pp. 116, 117. Joh. Rossus, p. 38. H. Knighton, col. 2324.

'tem,

'tem, fumeret; afferens pacem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ gladio materiali (a) non posse firmari, et constanter affirmans, omnes pro ea morientes martyrio coronari (b);' and Matthew accordingly makes him, in the prediction which he there puts into his mouth, style the quarrel in which the earl and his eldest son lost their lives, *the cause of Justice and Truth*. In effect, Matthew makes the bishop a principal promoter of Montfort's war; but these are fruitless speculations, which may as well be left alone; and therefore I shall hasten to the catalogue of the bishop's works.

(a) F. legendum *absque* gladio materiali.

(b) M. Paris, p. 998.

CATALOGUE of the BISHOP'S Works.

Nothing remains now but to subjoin a catalogue of bishop Groffeteste's literary productions, which shall chiefly be given from the ample and most accurate account of them in bishop Tanner's *Bibliothèque* (*a*), after premising two or three general observations concerning them.

The bishop, it is thought, was the most voluminous writer of any Englishman (*b*), at least wrote more tracts, and on a greater variety of subjects, than any one; many of his pieces, however, are now lost (*c*).

(*a*) We have lists of them by Boston of Bury, Wilkins, *Pref. ad Tanneri Biblioth.* p. xxxviii. by Leland in *Tanner's Bibliotheca*, by Bale, Pits, Wharton, *Angl. Sacra*, II. 244. Cave in *Historia Lit. &c.* Bishop Tanner, who has taken uncommon pains on this subject, will inform us in what libraries the respective pieces are to be found, if any gentleman should be desirous of making a more intimate acquaintance with any of them.

(*b*) Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* II. p. 344. The *Centuriatores Magdeb.* say, he wrote 120 tracts, which agrees with the number in Bale; but others reckon 300. See Blunt, *Censura*, p. 288; and Dr. Thomas Gascoigne writes, 'Ego sæpe vidi et firmiter credo, quod opera, quæ dominus Lincoln. Dr. Rob. Grostest, edidit, et manu sua propria scripsit, extendunt in quantitate scripti ultra quantitatem doctoris Nic. de Lyra *supra S. scripturam*.' Gascoigne *apud Tanneri Biblioth.* p. 350. Yet this great author was little known abroad; Trithemius and Possevinus mentioning but few of his works, and Bellarmine entirely omitting him. See *Præf. ad Libr. de Cess. Legat.* pp. 14, 15.

(*c*) *Ibidem*; and, indeed, John Bale presents us with more than are mentioned by Mr. Wharton. See Mr. Wharton, p. 347. The works now wanting we shall endeavour to specify in the following catalogue.

Arch-

Archbishop Williams had an intention, as was just mentioned above, to collect all his predecessor Groffeteste's works, and to print them in three volumes folio (*a*); and both Dr. Thomas James (*b*), and Mr. Brown (*c*), seem to wish it had been done; the latter expatiating on the value and utility of ancient authors, and of those of our prelate in particular. But when one considers the state of literature at this time, both in respect of philosophy and divinity, which are the two capital points, what advancements and discoveries have been made in the former, and how much better the Scriptures are now understood than they were in the 13th century, one has no cause to regret the miscarriage of archbishop Williams's project. Bishop Groffeteste, to speak generally, was but a bad divine, involved in all the grossest errors and corruptions of popery, as Mr. Brown will himself acknowledge (*d*), for which reason though candour obliges us to impute his false notions on theological points to the general blindness of the age in respect of such matters, yet the greatest part of his labours on divine subjects, Sermons, Commentaries, Dissertations, &c. would prove, in my apprehension, of very little service in these far more enlightened times, after a full discussion of the points of controversy between us and the Romanists, and when the fundamentals of religion are so much more perfectly understood.

The bishop's style is copious and verbose, and something bordering upon turgidity, as abounding with uncouth words, which, though formed analogically, are yet new, and not very

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies in Suffolk. See also Brown's Fascic. p. 396. Blunt, Conf. in Tanner.

(*b*) Dr. Thomas James, Eclogæ Oxon. Cant. p. 143.

(*c*) Brown, Fascic. pp. 245, 246.

(*d*) Brown, p. 245.

pleasing

pleasing to a reader of the classics; but it was the language of the time, and ought to be overlooked; and the more readily, as his lordship was blessed with a strong and clear head, and expresses himself generally and for the most very intelligibly (a), particularly in the books *De Sphæra* and *De Cessatione Legalium*. He proceeds also in his compositions very methodically and perspicuously (b).

(a) This, however, was not always the case; for, as Mr. Brown observes, p. 400, his famous epistle, ‘*Stylo conscripta est salebroso, &c.*’

(b) After a course of more than 500 years, we have some works of the bishop in *his own hand writing*. See below, in *Miscellan. Inedit.* Hearne ad Annal. Dunstap. p. 299. A. Wood, Hist. p. 222. The Autograph of M. Paris, his contemporary, is also still extant. Mr. Warton, Hist. of English Poetry, Dissert. II. p. LXXVII. Gough’s Anecdotes of British Topography, pp. 39, 65; and that of Giraldus Cambrensis, *ibid.* 13.



The most proper arrangement of the Bishop's works, for the commodiousness of the reader, and to avoid perplexity, seems to be this :

Theologica edita.

— inedita.

Philosophica edita.

— inedita.

Miscellanea edita.

— inedita.

French.

English.

Translations from the Greek.

Abbreviations used in the following Catalogue.

B. F. Brown, Fasciculus, &c. II. p. 250, seq.

A. S. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. II. p. 344, seq.

L. Leland in Tanneri Bibliotheca. The Collectanea are particularly specified.

B. B. Boston Buriensis in Præf. ad Tanneri Bibliothecam, p. xxxvii.

T. Tanneri Bibliotheca.

NB. Bale's Catalogue is reprinted in the Book *De Cessatione Legalium*. Lond. 1658, p. 46.

THEOLOGICA EDITA.

SERMO coram Innocentio IV. Papâ in Concilio Lugdunensi habitus anno 1250.
 3 Idus Maii [13 May] de Corruptelis Ecclesiæ. B. F. II. p. 250. A. S. p. 345.
 Principium 'Dominus noster Jesus Christus.'

This famous discourse was not delivered by the bishop, but read by one of the cardinals (*a*). The council of Lyons was ended long before this year; so that by *Concilium* is here meant the pope and his cardinals in consistory at Lyons, where the pope still resided.

There is no text to this sermon, according to the mode of preaching at this time (*b*), and Grosseteste's own custom. And it seems to be called in the MS. at Westminster 'Processus quidam in Curia Romana (*c*).'

In MS. Westm. 7 E. II. p. 8, are *Sermones ad Papam et Cardinales*, as if the bishop had often preached before them; and it also speaks of *Conciones ad Pontificem Romanum*; but *q*.

Sermo ad Clerum: qui in MS. hunc habet titulum, 'Ad Pastores Ecclesiæ Persuasio: et de triplici officio Regis: quid sc. Rex debet facere.' Text, 'Rex sapiens stabilimentum est populi sui.' Princip. 'Verba sunt Sapientis in Sap. VI. 26.' B. F. p. 258. A. S. p. 345.

Sermo ad Clerum, in Johan. X. 11. Ego sum Pastor bonus, A. S. In B. F. 'Monitio et persuasio pastorum super S. Johan. X. 11. Ego sum pastor bonus.' Princip. 'Filius Dei volens ostendere.'

Sermo ad Clerum, in Ezech. xxxiv. 2, 3, 4. Væ Pastoribus Israel, &c. A. S. In B. F. is added, 'contra Pastores et Prelatos malos.' Princip. 'In Sermone quem,' and it is connected with the former Sermon on John X.

Sermo ad Sacerdotes in Synodo, de hoc verbo Gen. I. 17. 'Posuit stellas in firmamento Cœli.' Princip. 'Vos minores Prælati stellæ.' B. F. p. 268, A. S.

(*a*) See the preceding History, A. D. 1250, p. 172. Leland, in his Collectan. IV. p. 47, calls it *Epistola . . . contra Appropriationes Beneficiorum*; for it has the same beginning.

(*b*) When Otro preached at the opening of his council, he took a text; so did the king at Winchester. Peter Comestor does it for the most part, and Jacobus de Voragine; but the mode was afterwards changed. See Wood, Hist. p. 59.

(*c*) Tanner, p. 350.

Sermo in celebratione Ordinum de hoc verbo S. Luc. xii. 13. 'Sint lumbi vestri præcincti, et lucernæ ardentes in manibus vestris.' Pr. 'Officium nostrum,' B. F. p. 271. A. S.

Sermo de bono judice, super Psal. LVII. 1. 'Rectè judicate filii hominum.' Prin. 'Si vis rectè judicare,' B. F. p. 274; where it is called *Dictum*, but it has much the nature of a Sermon; and Tanner, p. 349, terms it such.

Sermo ad Clerum: cujus Titulus in MS^o est, 'Ad Sacerdotes; quomodo scilicet debent esse exemplum fidelium omnium, tam verbo quam factis suis bonis;' et Tim. iv. pars posterior commatis 12. Exemplum esto fidelium in verbo, in conversatione, in charitate, in fide, in castitate. Princip. 'Paulus, Doctor gentium.' B. F. p. 297; where it is 35th of the *Dicta*, but in A. S. it is called also a Sermon.

The bishop delivered an oration at Oxford on this subject (*a*), and it afterwards might be converted into a sermon.

Sermo ad Clerum super Psalm. cxxiii 9. 'Sacerdotes tui induantur justitiam.' Princip. 'Versus iste generaliter.' B. F. p. 301.

Dictum de Prophetis veris et falsis. Princip. 'Prophetia maxime proprie dicta,' B. F. p. 276.

Dr. Cave terms it a tract, and indeed it is longer than most of the *Dicta*.

Both Mr. Brown (*b*) and Mr. Wharton think the *Dicta* were lectures, 'Quasi totidem prælectiones breves,' says the latter, 'de variis articulis theologicis et S. Scripturæ locis in Scholis maximam partem habitæ.' *Dicta* have no texts.

The bishop also wrote, 'De Discretionem Spirituum, lib. I. Gesner and Tanner, as will be mentioned below, inter Theolog. inedita.

The following twelve, printed by Mr. Brown, were transcribed from a MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge.

Dictum de Fide et ejus articulis. Princip. 'Collectio creditorum ad justitiam.' B. F. p. 201.

The bishop wrote also Summa de Articulis Fidei, &c. See Theolog. inedita, and on the same subject in French. See in the proper place below. Gesner says he wrote De Symbolo.

Dictum de Gratiâ et Justificatione hominis. Princip. 'Gratia est bona Voluntas Dei.' B. F. p. 282. It is mentioned in A. S. and by Leland. Dr. Cave terms it a tract. De Triplici Gratia, et Justificatione impiorum. Pr. *Gratia est bona Voluntas Dei*. T. who gives it as a tract, but it is evidently this *Dictum*.

Dicta H. de Orando, or de Oratione. Princip. of first, 'Orare est exprimere;' of the second, which is very short, 'Virtuti et Potestati,' B. F. pp. 283, 285.

The bishop wrote a tract also, 'De assiduitate Orandi;' to be mentioned inter inedita Theolog. below.

Dictum de Superbia. Princ. 'Superbia est Amor propriæ,' B. F. p. 285. Cave calls it a tract.

Dictum de Detractione et ejus malis. Princ. 'De Superbia quæ est Amor.' B. F. p. 287.

(*a*) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. I. p. 72. See before, p. 229.

(*b*) Brown, p. 246; and see the *Dicta inedita* below.

This, which Cave calls also a tract, was connected with the preceding *Dictum*. *Dicta* III. *De Humilitate*. Princ. 'Humilitas est Amor persistendi' II. "Humilitas est qua' III. 'Cumbr. Humilitas sit amor persistendi' B. F. p. 288, seq. *Dictum de Patientia*. Princ. 'Patientia est animi.' B. F. p. 293. *Dictum*, quod in omni opere Dei sint simul Misericordia et Justitia. Princ. 'In omni operatione Dei' B. F. p. 295.

De Cessatione Legalium, Tractatus eruditissimus, priscam, solidam, et germanam pietatem spirans, nostroque ævo apprimè utilis ac necessarius. Anno 1658, small 8vo (a). Princ. 'Fuerunt plurimi in primitiva ecclesia.'

This, which may be regarded as the bishop's capital performance, is written with temper, method, and great perspicuity of style (b). I have offered a conjecture on the occasion of it under the year 1231, pp. 31, 32. The misfortune is, that, though the editor (c) esteemed it to be perfect (d), it is very imperfect, since, as we are informed by Mr. Wharton, the MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, is more than as large again (e); and Mr. Brown, who examined the matter more closely, says, it is two-thirds more, and this accords with my MS. (f). The work, it seems, consisted originally of five parts, of which the first only is printed (g). Mr. Brown observes, that, if the whole be ever printed, it ought to be prefixed to that treatise of the bishop's, *De decem præceptis Decalogi*, as this depends upon it, and follows in the MSS.

A work with the same title was written by John Baconthorpe, and another by John Wickliffe (h).

De Doctrina Cordis 'Præparate corda vestra' L. bishop Tanner's notes, 'Hunc Tractatum edidit Fr. Aloysius, Neap. 1607, 8vo. et Fr. Gerardo Leodiensi ascribit. A Wood, MS (i).' &c.

(a) Mr. Wharton says, 1652, 4to; but bishop Tanner has 1658, 8vo; yet, quere, if they mean not the same, as that of 1658 appears to be a small 4to. If so, 1652 in Wharton is a mistake for 1658.

(b) Mr. Brown styles it 'Demonstratio eximia veritatis Religionis Christianæ,' p. 246.

(c) Who was not Sir Matthew Hale (though he was the cause of the publication, and communicated the MS which had been bequeathed to him by Mr. Selden). See the Preface by Bruno Ryves. Tanner, p. 346. Brown, p. 245. Bruno Ryves was register of the Order of the Garter. Ashmole, p. 201; and dean of Chichester. Ath. Ox. II. 284, 285, Hutchins, Dorset. I. 76.

(d) Præf. p. 4.

(e) Wharton, A. S. p. 343.

(f) This MS. which once belonged to Peter Le Neve, Norroy; and afterwards to Mr. Thomas Martin, at whose sale I bought it, terminates, the first part at the end of eleven leaves (the whole consisting of thirty), with the words, 'Et hic terminum hujus particulæ (as Mr. Brown has it, and not *Tractatus*, as in the printed book) statuamus.'

(g) Brown, p. 246.

(h) Tanner, p. 347.

(i) Tanner, p. 347. The MS. is at St. John's College, Cambridge. Cave.

Speculum Concionatorum (a). Mr. Hearne tells us this piece ought to be given to our bishop, though in the printed book it is ascribed Gerardo Leodiensi; he appeals to Leland and the MSS (b).

Commentarius in Dionysii Areopagitæ Librum de mystica Theologia. Printed in the works of Dionysius, Argentinae, 1502. f. A. S. See more of this among the translations.

(a) So below. *Speculum de oculo morali*. Mr. Barrington, *Observ. on Anc. Statutes*, p. 1. remarks, that this term, *Speculum*, is often applied in the Titles of Law-books. I may add, it occurs as frequently in those of Theological or Ethical Works; *Speculum Charitatis*, Gunton, p. 199. *Speculum Juniorum*. Ibid. *Speculum Pœnitentis*, p. 201. *Speculum humanæ Salvationis*, Mifson, l. p. 23. Hence, *Mirror of Magistrates*, &c.

(b) Hearne ad *Annal. Dunstap*, p. 299.

THEOLOGICA INEDITA.

Bishop Grosseteste wrote a tract on the subject of preaching (a), and frequently appeared in the pulpit himself. Besides the Sermons above registered amongst his printed works, there are a large number extant in MS. which are here to be reported.

Sermo. Princip. 'Egredietur virga de radice Jessæ.' T. See below in the tracts.

————— 'Erunt signa in Sole et Luna.' T. Princ. *Erunt Fin. attemptatum*. B. B. See the inedited tracts below.

————— ad Clerum ut videtur, est enim de variis Cleri Ordinibus. Princ. 'Despondi vos uni viro virgine.' T.

————— De Episcoporum moribus. Princ. 'Paulus Apost. discipulum suum.' T. who notes 'Hujus Pr. et Arg. a Balæo et Pitfio Ealredo Rhievall. ascribitur.' *Dei officio Episcopi*, M. S. Westm. 6 E. v. 3. T. See the inedited tracts below.

Sermōes III. in Annunciatione Dominica. Princ. Primi, *Missus est & annunciante angelo*. Princ. Secundi, *Ave gratia plena*. Princ. Tertii, *Ingressus angelus*. T. See the tracts below.

(a) See under the last Article.

Sermo

- Sermo Roberti Groffi cap. Princ. 'Maria optimam partem elegit.' T.
- Princ. 'Convenitur ex consuetudine ad collationem.' T.
- 'Beati pauperes, quia vestrum est regnum.' T. It is the tract
De Scala Paupertatis, Lib. i. T.
- 'Plurima sunt Sanctorum testimonia.' T.
- 'Spiritus Sanctus descendit super Christum.' T.
- 'Qui autem sunt Christi crucifixerunt.' T.
- 'Manus in Sacra Scriptura frequenter.' T.
- 'Unguentum effusum nomen tuum.' T.
- 'Canimus hodie in laudem B. Virginis.' T.
- 'Amice, quomodo intraisti non habens.' T.
- 'Cumque lavasset eos subucula lini, &c. Lev. 8.' T.
- 'Præmonitus a vener. Patre S. Nicolai, &c. Sacerdotes induantur justitiam. T. This appears to be different from the one printed on Psalm cxxxii (a)." By venerabilis Pater is intended *Otto* the legate, who was cardinal by the title of Sti. Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano.
- 'Prælati et Doctores Ecclesiæ oculi.' T. who notes that it was delivered in Concilio Londin. contra mores Romanæ curiæ.
- 'Pauper et inops.' See below for the tract *Ad Minores de Laude Paupert.*
- 'Tota pulchra.'
- 'Domum tuam.'
- 'Legimus hodie.' T.
- 'Et sedebit.' T.
- 'Quoniam Cogitatio.' T.
- Sermo Paschalis. Princ. 'Ecclesiæ Sancta.' T.
- Princ. 'Ex rerum initiatarum.' T.
- De Decem Præceptis. Pr. Si vis ad vitam, &c. quod sine observantia. T.
- De Levitis, ex Libro Numerorum. A. S. Bishop Tanner calls it a Sermon, (see also Hearne ad Annal. Dunstap. p. 299), and intimates the beginning to be *In libro Numerorum.*
- De laude B. Martini. A. S. See below the tract *ad Minores de Laude Paupertatis.*
- Sermo. Expositio in hæc verba Lucæ, *Exiit edictum a Cæsare.* A. S. 'Commentarios in Lucam, Lib. I.' T. who, p. 350, cites the same MS. Mr. Wharton does, and calls it a *Sermon.*
- Templum Domini. A. S. 'De templo Dei.' L. 'Sermo. Pr. *Templum, &c. Sermo iste quamvis omnes . . . idem principium habet auctoris nostri de Articulis fidei et fide Catholica: quem vide infra.*' T. Possevin has 'Summam Confessionis seu Templum Dei.'

(a) Vide supra.

De

De Resurrectione. L. 'De Resurrectione Christi, lib. i. extat in MS. Cotton. Otho D. X. Rob. Grosst. de fide futuræ Resurrectionis. Pr. *Dominus ac Redemptor noster.*' T. B. B. calls it a Sermon

De triplici Hierarchia. See translations from Greek.

Some Sermons in English. See below.

Sermo ad Ecclesiasticos, de Vita et Instructione eorum. Pr. *Scriptum est de* T. p. 350. It seems to be different from that *de Levitis* above.

Predicatio Viris Religiosis. See the Life in 1245, p. 140.

There is a folio volume on vellum, but not old, in the library of the Church of York.

After reciting these particulars, it is proper to note, that amongst the 147 *Diſta* in the library at Westminster are 19 sermons (a). And in a MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge, there are some sermons amongst the *Diſta* (b). So again at Westminster we have 'Sermones, Propositiones, et Themata fere centum (c);' and Dr. Cave observes, there are many, 'at Merton and Lincoln Colleges.' So there are 30 sermons in one volume at Westminster (d), 20 in another (e), 49 in a third (f). But many of these, no doubt, are the same given with those in the preceding list.

The bishop's *Diſta inedita* are also numerous; in one volume at Westminster there are 147, including 19 sermons (A. S. and T), and as many in a MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge; and in another volume there are 166, reckoning some treatises and sermons amongst them; A. S. where Mr. Wharton also mentions another volume of *Diſta* at Westminster. B. B. also registers a collection of *Diſta*, beginning *Amor*, and ending with *et misericordiæ*; but this I take to be the same with 'Dictamina, 147, lib. I. *Amor multipliciter dici videtur*' in the library at Westminster, 6 Edward V (g). The same, no doubt, occur again and again in these MSS. however, it is plain they were many in number, and Mr. Brown thinks others of them, besides those which he has printed, were very excellent, and seems to have had an intention to publish them in some future work. But 'Theologicorum lib. I. *Aaron non consentit in Vitulum*' is to be reckoned, I apprehend, amongst the *Diſta*. 'Horum tabula, et notabilia ex iis excerpta,' says bishop Tanner, 'simul cum vita ejus, habentur MS. Oxon. in Collegiis Merton, N° I. 10 Ad finem in MS. Merton. et MS. Otho D. X. hæc nota interseritur ante tabulam. In hoc libello sunt capitula 147, quorum quædam sunt brevia verba (h) quæ

(a) Wharton, A. S. p. 346.

(b) Ibidem.

(c) Ibidem.

(d) MS. Westm. 7 E. II. 6. T.

(e) ——— D. XV. 1. T.

(f) ——— F. II. 2 T. Sermones alii ii. Ibidem 7.

(g) B. F. p. 296, compared with p. 248.

(h) *Diſta*.

‘dum in scholis morabar, scripsi breviter, et [in MS. Cott.] composito sermone
 ‘ad memoriam, nec sunt de una materia, nec ad invicem continuata; quorum
 ‘titulos posui, ut facilius, quæ vellet lector, possit invenire; spondentque ple-
 ‘rumque plus aliquo tituli, quam solvent capitula lectoris. Quædam vero sunt
 ‘sermones, quos eodem tempore ad clerum vel populum feci.’

I proceed next to the Treatises.

De Veritatibus, or de Veritate, A. S. It is called Sermon I. in B. B. where it begins, *Ego sum*; ends *in singulis*. The beginning is given more fully in T. *Ego sum via, veritas, et vita*; and in one MS. the title is *de veritate Christi*. T. The same work, probably, with the printed work inter Philosophica edita.

De Divinis Nominibus, lib. I. T. But quere, if not the same with ‘Com-
 ‘mentum super Dionysium de divinis Nominibus, MS. Br. Twyn. A. 133;’ men-
 tioned also in Tanner. See the article of Translations from the Greek below.

Tractatus de septem Sacramentis, A. S. There is a French metrical version of this. See below in the bishop's work *De Articulis Fidei*.

De Confessione, A. S. ‘Lib. I. Quoniam cogitatio hominis. . . . Titulum ha-
 ‘bent etiam *Affentiones in forma Confessionis*.’ T. It seems to be otherwise named, *de modo Confitendi*, A. S. The conclusion *Potentiam*, B. B. ‘In MS. Bodl. NE. A. 3. 16. habetur Doctrina Lincoln. de Confessione. Pr. *Scriptum est de Levitis*. Ita incipit MS. in Coll. S. Joan. Cantabrig. (Whart. Uffer).’ T. This seems to be a different production. ‘Cument on se doit confesser qui voudra Dieu prier,’ is in Mr. Tyrwhitt's volume, for which see p. 275.

Summa Theologiæ, A. S. and T. also Possevinus and Trithemius. It was Lib. I. and began ‘Spiritus Sanctus per os Salomonis.’ T.

De oculo morali (a), A. S. [in Tanner, and Leland Collectan. VI. p. 54.] ‘Spe-
 ‘culum de oculo morali, Lib. I. chap. xv. Si diligenter voluerimus intelligere.’ T.
 ‘In MS. Coll. Lincoln. Arch. Aust. 38. Pr. habet, *Si volumus in lege Domini me-
 ‘ditari*. In MS. Mertonensi inscribitur, *Tractatus moralis de curationibus oculi
 ‘moralis*.’ T.

De veneno et peccato morali, A. S. ‘De Veneno. i. e. Septem peccatis,
 ‘Ratio potissimi veneni.’ L. ‘Lib. I. cap. 34. Pr. I. Ratione, &c. Pr. pr. omnibus
 ‘hominibus qui vesta. . . . Tractatus hic etiam inscribitur, *de Venenis vel peccatis*,
 ‘alias de venenis peccati, alias, *de septem venenis et septem remediis eorum*.’ T.

De Septem Vitiis. Pr. ‘Peccatum est vitandum.’ T. There is a French translation of this, or one of the two following, in verse. Vide infra *de Articulis Fidei*.

(a) A work of this title is published by Luke Wadding, and ascribed to Johannes Wallensis. Sir James Ware's Writers, p. 134.

Summa vitiorum capitalium, Lib. I. 'primo videndum est quid.' Al. 'Superbia est elatio mentis.' T.

'Summa de Septem vitiis capitalibus secundum quosdam. Pr. Providendi. Fin. Plangit.' B. B.

Qualiter homo factus est ad imaginem Dei. A. S.

Hexameron, L. Collect. IV. p. 156. A. S. 'Morales Expositiones in operibus sex dierum.' A. S. 'Lib. I. Omnis scientia et sapientia.' T. and again, 'Expositiones in Genesim, Lib. I. Ita Th. Waldensis, lib. V. doctrinalis fidei, cap. 27. A. Wood, MS.' T. 'Expositio (prolixa admodum) in primum caput Geneseos, seu in Hexameron.' A. S.

Meditationes VII. in dicta seu facta quædam S. Anselmi. A. S.

De libero arbitrio. L. A. S. 'Lib. I. cum per arbitrii libertatem. . . . in MS. Cotton. Otho D. X. extat aliud opus de libero arbitrio, Lib. I. quia cum circa rei esse.' T. The end of the first piece is *contrarium*. B. B. who calls the latter *secundum opus*, and says the end is *dicenda*.

De Scientia et voluntate, 'Lib. I. quæritur de scientia Dei.' T. 'De Scientia Dei. Pr. quæritur. Fin. recte.' B. B.

Quod Deus est forma prima omnium. A. S. 'De prima Forma et Forma omnium. Pr. rogavit. Fin. corripas.' B. B. See the *Edita Philosophica* below.

'Parabola. Pr. Pater familias prædices.' T.

De Veritate futurorum contingentium, A. S. and T. where the beginning is *Remque*. See the *Philosophica* edita below.

De ordine emanandi causatorum a Deo. A. S. and T. where the beginning is *Multum coangustat*.

De statu causarum, Lib. I. Pr. *magnus Deus in semetipso*. A. S. and T.

De conceptione et excellentia B. Mariæ secundum Anselmum meditationes, II. A. S.

Expositio Prologi S. Jeronimi super Bibliam. A. S. B. B. 'Super Prologo Bibliorum, lib. I. Frater Ambrosius, &c. hanc.' T.

De reparatione lapsi, lib. I. *In principio creationis mundi*. T.

De Sapientia et Scientia. A. S.

De Homine, lib. I. *Adam, ubi es? qui legit, intelligat*. T.

De Decem Præceptis. L. Gefner. A. S. 'De Decem Præceptis et symbolo, lib. II. Sic dicit Apostolus, plenitudo.' T. The end, *Sex mandatis*. B. B. A Fragment is printed by Mr. Brown, p. 306; and that this work is connected with the bishop's book, *De Cessatione Legalium*, we have observed above. There is a French metrical version of this. See below the bishop's piece *De Articulis Fidei*.

Quomodo Christus est Virga de Radice Jesse. A. S. See above in the Sermons.

Expositio in ista verba Cantic. 'Unguentum effusum est nomen tuum.' A. S. probably the inedited sermon abovementioned.

Expositio in ista verba Cantic. 'Nigra sum, sed formosa.' A. S.

De Acceptione manûs pro executione operis in S. Scripturâ. A. S. perhaps the sermon which begins *Manus in sacra Scriptura frequenter*.

De Articulis Fidei et Fide Catholica, et de omnibus rebus pertinentibus ad officium Sacerdotis, lib. I. '*Templum Domini sanctum est, &c. sermo iste quamvis.*' T. This is different from the printed *Dictum* above registered. The description in B. B. is, 'Summam de Articulis fidei et de omnibus quæ pertinent ad officium sacerdotale. Pr. *Templum.* Fin. *a servitute.*' De Sacerdotali officio. lib. I. '*Templum Domini sanctum est.*' T. This was translated into French verse; and the late Thomas Tyrwhitt, esq. had it with other pieces of the bishop's versified also in French, and bought the volume at Mr. Thomas Martin's sale. The volume consists of 198 leaves in large 8vo, and in vellum; the translator is not known, p. 151. There is in the same volume *Le Roman del Romanus*; and, p. 173, *Chateau d'Amour*, a work of our bishop's; for which see below. Note also, that p. 105. the translator of the piece there in hand calls himself *William de Widdindune*; but of this versificator I cannot find any memorials elsewhere, nor is it certain that this person executed all the other performances in the volume.

De Symbolo. Gesner.

Quare Spiritus S. descendit super Christum in specie columbæ. A. S.

Quomodo Spiritus ubi vult spirat. A. S.

De Officio Divino, lib. I. '*Dicto de Linguae exercitio utili.*' T.

Contra Luxuriam (a), lib. I. T.

Qualem Episcopum esse oportet, ex instructione Pauli ad Titum. A. S. I conceive this to be the fourth inedited sermon above.

De Signis in Sole et Luna in Die Judicii. A. S. Quere, if not the second of the inedited sermons.

De Incarnatione Christi. A. S.

De Assiduitate Orandi, Pr. '*Assidua debet esse Oratio.*' T.

In Apocalypsin Johannis, lib. I. '*Vidi in dextra sedentis super.*' T.

De Præmiis Apostolorum, lib. I. '*Misit de summo, et accepit me.*' T.

In verba Gabrielis, lib. I. '*Ingressus Angelus ad eam dixit.*' T. I take it to be the last of the three inedited sermons on the Annunciation. See above.

De Beatitudine pauperum in Spiritu. A. S. I take it to be the inedited sermon.

'In Paulum ad Galathas, lib. I. "*Ut Apostolus in aliis epistolis.*" . . . Hujus meminit in libro de *Cessatione Legalium.*' T. Finis, quid docetur? B. B.

In Epist. ad Corinthios. 'Tho. Gascoigne. *Dictionar.* in voce *Credens, Deus,* &c. meminit expositionis Domini Lincoln. in Epistolam Pauli ad Corinthios—et super omnes Epistolas Pauli, "*Sparsum manu propria in margine communis Glossæ; et Liber ille est Oxoniæ inter Fratres Minores in Libraria conventus, sed non est in libraria scholarum, quoniam ibi sunt duæ librariæ.*" MS. supra, p. 692, 693.' T.

De Pœnis Purgatorii. A. S. 'Sive de memoria Novissimorum, lib. I. cap. 6. Pr. p. *In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima.* Pr. lib. *Intelligatis modo, Carissimi, devotissime.*' T.

Sententias Scripturarum, lib. I. *Abominatio Desolationis.*' T.

(a) Lust. Vide in 1253, p. 210, note c.

De summa Justitiæ, opus ingens. A. S. 'Summam Justitiæ, lib. X. *Summa Justitiæ Christi Fidelium* . . . forsan Joh. Guallensis.' T.

'De Dei Misericordia et Justitia lib. Consequenter tractatur.' T. The end in B. B. is *per Dei Gratiam*.

Moralitates super IV Evangelia. A. S. 'Commentarii in quatuor Evangelia.' L. 'Lib. IV. *Missionem filii legimus duplicem*. Pr. I. *Intentioni quatuor Evangelistarum*. Lib. I. habet, cap. 78. ii. 59. iii. 98. iv. 64 . . . Hi Commentarii inscribuntur etiam *Moralis Tract. R. G. secundum Intentionem quatuor Evangelistarum*, alias, *Omeliæ super Historiam Evangelistarum*.' T.

De locali præsentia Dei. Pr. *Hic quæritur*. Fin. *filius*. B. B. 'De locali Dei præsentia, lib. I. *hic quæritur de locali*.' T.

De Lingua et Corde moraliter. A. S. 'De Lingua humana, lib. III. Pr. L. I. *Lingua congruit in duo opera* . . . M S. Mertonense habet, lib. VI. Pr. pr. *Dominus in Cælo paravit sedem*, et dividitur in sex partes; quarum prima habet cap. 8. secunda 28, tertia 22, quarta 10, quinta 78, sexta 15. A. Wood, MS. Item MS. Graham. 47. In MS. Bibl. Colleg. Univers. 6. 10. Sunt *extracta ex Lincoln. de Lingua et Corde*. Pr. *Adulatio est Deo detest.* In MS. Colleg. Novi 119. Linc. *de Lingua et Corde secundum Ord. Alphabeti*.' T.

Scala Voluptatis. A. S. Lib. I. T.

'De Originali peccato, lib. I. *Questio circa originale peccatum*.' T. B. B. gives *quo circa* for the beginning; corrupted perhaps from *Questio circa*.

De Conjugio. A. S. Lib. I. Tanner from Pits.

'Compendium Civitatis Dei, lib. I.' T. B. B. Notes on Augustine de Civitate Dei. Wood, Hist. p. 78.

'Super Psalterium. Pr. *Beatus Vir*. B. B. Wood, Hist. & Antiq. I. p. 222.

'In duas quadragenas Psalmorum, lib. II. *Psalmorum Libri Græci Psalterium*. MS. Bononiæ in Bibl. Prædicator.' T.

'*Super Psalmos* usque ad Cent. inclusivè. Gascoigne, *Psalterium postillavit usque ad medium, nec ulterius licuit ob vitæ terminum*. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 3. Dominus Rob. Grost. super Psalterium manu sua propria scriptum—opus est Oxoniæ inter Fratres Minores. Tho. Gascoigne Diction. voce *Christus*.' T.

Richard Taverner translated the Bishop's Prayers on the Psalms into English. Lond. 1539, 8vo. Wood, Athen. I. col. 184. I do not find it in Mr. Ames or Mr. Herbert.

De Pœnitentia. L. 'Pro danda Pœnitentia, lib. II. *Dilecto suo N. Robertus salutem (a)*.' T.

'Pœnitentiale quoddam, lib. I. *ad primum dicat Sacerdos*. Universitates Pœnitentiæ, seu Constitutiones quædam de Pœnitentia, MS. Cantabr. in Coll. S. Johannis.' T.

'Recollectiones in tractatus de Pœnitentia. L. Lib. I. MS. Cantabr. in Bibl. publ. 118. 3. in MS. Lambeth 144 *Canones Pœnitentiales*.' T.

Concilium circa Pœnitentes. Pr. *Sacerdotes in Confessionibus majora*.' T.

Tractatus quomodo examinandus est Pœnitens. Pr. *Deus est*. T.

(a) This was probably a circular letter on the subject to the clergy of the diocese.

De Pollutione nocturnâ. L.

'Ad Minores de Laude Paupertatis, Lib. I. *Pauper et inops laudabunt nomen*
'... Extat sermo hujus principii et auctoris, MS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. 72. f. 133.
'in die S. Martini,' T. See above the sermon which begins *Pauper et inops*, and
that de laude B. Martini.

Homiliarum justum volumen. L. 'Homiliarum, lib. I. *Dominus noster Jesus*
'*Christus.*' T. This is the beginning of the sermon read to the Pope in 1250,
which we have mentioned in its place above, and, I presume, may stand first in this
volume of Homilies.

'De Cruce, lib. I.' T.

Meditationum libellus. L. 'Meditationum, lib. I. *Meditari debes, quia mor-*
'*taliter* Vide infra librum *de articulis fidei.*' T.

'De Humilitate Christi, lib. I.' T.

'Deum fieri hominem, lib. I.' T. 'De eo quod oportuit Deum fieri hominem.'
B. B. Quere, if not the tract *de Incarnatione Christi* abovementioned.

'Super Jobi Commentarios, lib. I.' T.

'In Threnos Jeremiæ, lib. I.' T.

'De Discretionem Spirituum, lib. I.' Tanner. See the printed *Dieta* above.

'Correctorium totius Bibliæ, liber brevis, in quo docetur quomodo plura dif-
ficiliora totius Bibliæ vocabula pronuntiari debeant, quæ perperam pronuntiari
confueverunt.' MS. in Eccl. Christi Cant. Cave.

The piece *de Curâ Pastoralis* in MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, is a long
letter of the bishop's, as Mr. Wharton informs us (a), on the exemption claimed
by the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln from the Episcopal Jurisdiction. This, pro-
bably, is what Leland calls *De Potestate pastoralis*.

De Cura Pastoralis Tractatus, qui incipit, *Scriptum est de Levitis*. A. S. This is
different from the former. The bishop appears to have written four treatises on
this subject, and indeed he always had it much at heart. On John Leland's words
De Potestate Pastoralis, bishop Tanner comments thus: 'Sive *Cura pastoralis*, lib. I.
'*Natis et educatis in Christi* Scripsit alium librum similis argumenti, cujus
'Princip. *Moses qui tradente Domino* In fine prioris libri [MS. in Bibl. Bodl.]
'Tho. Gascoigne sua manu scripsit. "Explicit Tractatus sanctæ memoriæ Doctoris
'Roberti Grossthead, quondam Lincolnienfis Episcopi, *de Potestate et Cura pastoralis*.
'Et idem Doctor fecit alium libellum de consimili materia, qui incipit, *Natis et*
'*educatis, &c.*" The fourth treatise was, *De Officio Pastoralis* liber MS. West-
'mon. 8 D. IV. 8.' T. In regard to the first of these, Tanner writes, 'inter
'eisdem MS. [Digby] num. 191, extat Doctrina Roberti Grosstest. Pr. *Scriptum*
'*est de Levitis*, MS. Langb.' Adam de Marisco treated also this subject in one
of his letters. Tanner, p. 8.

'Contra Prælatorum ignaviam, lib. I. *Moses qui, tradente Domino* Inter
'Epistolas in Bibl. Cotton MS, Otho. C. xiv. una est (Num. 127.) hujus. Pr. *justi*

(a) Wharton, A. S. II. p. 345.

‘ tractatus molem habens, et agit contra exemptionem Capituli Lincoln a sub-
 ‘ jectione Episcopali. Wharton, A. S. II. 1545.’ T. This is apparently one of the
 cxxviii epistles. See Miscell. edita.

De Sacerdotali Officio. See above, de Articulis Fidei.

Prophetia. Pr. *Externi Populis dominabitur.* T.

Enchiridion. See below in the French.

De Sacrilegio; a French version, if not written originally in that form, in Mr.
 Tyrhwitt's volume, for which see p. 275.

PHILOSOPHICA EDITA.

De Sphæra. *Intentio noster in hoc tractatu.* L. ‘ De Sphæra Cælesti, lib. I.
 MS. Bodl. NE. F. xi. 98, pp. 147, 191.’ The bishop's Philosophical works
 were probably written in his youth, whilst he was only a Master of Arts, and had
 not turned his thoughts so entirely, as he afterwards did, to the study of The-
 ology, and the care of his large diocese. This Nic. Trivet intimates concerning
 the Commentary in *Posteriora Aristotelis* (a). ‘ It. MS. Digb. Sup. A. I. Art. 98.
 ‘ MS. Bodl. Laud. K. 61. abbreviatus, *Compendium* (b) *Sphæra mundi.* Venet.
 ‘ MDVIII. MDXVIII. f. Hujus libri titulo perperam addit Pits, et in alia opuscula
 ‘ *Johannis de Sacrobosco*: nam Lincolnienſis noster obierat diu ante scriptum opus
 ‘ *Johannis de Sacrobosco.* In MS. Bodl. Digb. 98 est Tractatus de Sphæra
 ‘ (Pr. *Cum de Compositione machinæ mundanæ*) Lincolnienſi adscriptus. In MS.
 ‘ Digb. 97. extat *Lincolnienſis in Theoricam Sphæra.* Pr. *Investigantibus astronomiæ*
 ‘ *rationes.*’ It is called otherwise, *Descriptio Figuræ machinæ mundi.* A. S. and is
 written both in a good method and an easy style, but was in a great measure
 eclipsed by the performance of Johannes de Sacro Bosco (c). Extat MS. in Bi-
 blioth. C. G. C. Cant. Nasmith, N° LXIV. 14.

Commentarii in libros Physicorum Aristotelis. L. ‘ Lib. VIII. *Cum scire et in-*
 ‘ *telligere adquirantur*—Extant Venet. 1504, 1506.’ T.

(a) Trivet, p. 204; and see Wood, Hist. et Antiq. p. 82.

(b) Gefner makes *de Sphæra Cælesti* and *Compendium Sphærae*, two works. Trivet observes
 it is a compendious tract.

(c) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 371.

De Utilitate Artium. L. 'Lib. I. In rebus humanis triplici de causa, A. Wood, MS. Pits inter opusc. impressa Venet 1514. f.' T. In the printed book it is called *Tractatus Domini Lincolnensis de artibus liberalibus*; the book is extremely scarce, and contains 19 tracts. See for this first, Philosoph. inedit. Art. I.

Tractatus de Generatione Sonorum. Pr. *Cum Sonativum*. Inter opusc. Venet. 1514.

Tractatus de Calore Solis. Pr. *Cum principalis intentio*. Inter opusc. Venet. 1514.

Tractatus de Generatione Stellarum. Pr. *Res ejusdem naturæ*. Inter opusc. Venet. 1514.

Tractatus de Coloribus. Pr. *Color est Lux*. Venet. 1514. This is short. Vide Philos. inedit. Art. I. 'De Colore vel Coloribus. Pr. *Color est*. Fin. *ostenduntur*.' B. B. 'Lib. I. *Color est Lux incorporata*, MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 98, 104, 221. 'fragm.' T.

Tractatus de statu Causarum. Pr. *Aristoteles in secundo*. Venet. 1514. Different from the piece with the same title registered inter Theologica inedita. 'De statu, sufficientia, et ordine Causarum, lib. I. Aristoteles in principio (a) Philosophiæ.' T.

Tractatus de Veritate Propositionis. Pr. *Remque (b) partim est*. Venet. 1514. It seems to be the book *De Veritate futurorum contingentium* mentioned above in Theologica Inedita, a small tract.

Tractatus de unica forma omnium. Pr. *Rogavit me dilectissima Dilectio tua*. Venet. 1514. Quere if not the tract *Quod Deus forma prima omnium*, registered inter Theologica inedita. 'De formis ad Adamum Mariscum.' L. "Lib. I. *Quod Deus est forma prima omnium*. Pr. *Rogavit me dulcissima Dilectio tua*. MS. Cotton. Otho D. X. De forma prima unica omnium, lib. I. *Rogavit Amicus ut de Forma*.' T. See Philosophica Inedita, Art. 1.

Tractatus de Intelligentiis. Pr. *Voluisti a me scire*. Venet. 1514 (c). Leland writes it *De Natura Intellectus*.

Tractatus de Veritate. Pr. *Ego sum via, veritas, et vita*. Venet. 1514. See above, the Theologica Inedita, Art. 1.

Tractatus de Impressionibus Elementorum. Pr. *Ut testatur Jacobus*. Venet. 1514. It is short. 'De Impressione Aëris. A. S. In MS. Cotton Otho D. X. titulus est, de Generationibus Impressionum.' T. and A. S.

Tractatus de motu corporali et Luce. Pr. *Unus inquam unum; unum*. Venet. 1514. It is short. *De Luce*. Vide Philosophica Inedita, Art. 1.

Tractatus de finitate motus et temporis. Pr. *Primum Argumentum*. Venet. 1514.

Tractatus de angulis et figuris. Pr. *Utilitas Angulorum*. Venet. 1514.

(a) *Primo secundo* Impress. T.

(b) *Lege Rem quæ*, as Tanner, p. 350, has it.

(c) Tanner has *voluisti insuper a me scire*.

- Tractatus de Natura locorum. Pr. *His ergo radicibus*. Venet. 1514.
 Tractatus de Inclinatione formarum. Pr. *Normam primam*. Venet. 1514. 'In-
 scribitur etiam *de forma prima*. T.
 Tractatus quod homo sit minor mundus. Pr. *Magnus mundus in semetipso*.
 Venet. 1514. This is very short.
 Tractatus de motu Supercoelestium. Pr. *Quoniam motus simplex*. Venet. 1514.
 de Motu Circulari. A. S. 'In MS. Cotton. Otho D. X. inscribitur *de Dispositione*
' motoris et moti in motu circulari.' T.
 Tractatus de differentiis localibus. Pr. *Differentiam idem genus*. Venet. 1514.
 it is also intituled *De Sex Differentiis*. A. S. and see T.
 Commentarius in Libros Posteriorum Aristotelis. A. S. 'Lib. II. *Intentio Aris-*
' totelis in hoc primo Quoniam autem, ut dicit Aristotelis, tunc opinamur unum
' quodque. Ex Extant impressa Venetiis 1497, 1504, 1514, 1537, 1552.
 'In edit. 1497 et 1552. Auctor in titulo insulse vocatur Archiepiscopus Parisiensis.
 'A Wood, MS.' T.

PHILOSOPHICA INEDITA.

- SUMMA Philosophiæ. A. S. apographum recent. 'Lib. I. *Prophetantes (Phi-*
' losophantes, MS. Langb.) famosi primi fuerunt In hoc libro tractat de
' formis, de luce, de coloribus, de iride, de cometis, de utilitate liberalium ar-
' tium. Lelandi Col. iii. 56,' T.
 De Impressione Aëris Tractatus, Pr. *ad præcognoscendam*. T. This is a different
 piece from the printed one. 'De prognosticatione temporum. Pr. *ad prognosti-*
' candam diversam (prænotandam, MS. Digb. 57.) de Aëris Intemperia prog-
' nostica. Pr. *Ad præcognoscendam, &c.* Pits malè.' T.
 De Iride. L. De Iride et Speculo. A. S. See the first article above. 'De Iride et
 'Speculo (MS. Cotton. Otho D. X.), lib. I. *et Perspectivæ diligenter specul.* in MS.
 'Digb. 28, 190, 194. Pr. *est. et Philosophiæ est specul.*' T. The end in B. B. is
variationis.
 De Natura luminis et diafoni. Pr. *Considerandum*. B. B. 'Lib. I. *Consi-*
' derandum quippe est. T.
 De Cometis. See the first article above. De Cometa. Lel. Coll. IV. p. 156.
 'Lib. I. *Fragm. MS. Coll. Merton. Q. 3. 8. Art.*' T.

De

De Astrolabio, lib. I. '*Astrolabii circulos et membra.*' T. See Dr. Plott, Nat. Hist. of Oxfordsh. p. 214.

'De Luce. Pr. *Formam. Fin. Temporibus.*' B. B. De Luce et colore ejusdem. A. S. 'Lib. I. *Formam potius (primam, MS. Bodl. Digby, 104. MS. Merton) corporalem quam.*' T.

Quod motus simpliciter sit in forma prima. A. S.

De Lineis physicis. Gesner.

Commentarii in Logicam, lib. I. T.

Commentarii in Prædicamenta Aristotelis. L. and Collectan. IV. p. 53.

Questiones Priorum, lib. ii. T. 'In prima Aristotlis, lib. ii. *Cum omnis scientia sit veri.*' Idem.

Commentarius in Libros Aristotelis de Cælo et Mundo. L. and Collect. IV. p. 53. 'Lib. ii. *Iste est Liber Aristotelis intitulatus. Ita incipiunt libri hujus argumenti comp. cum Lincoln. in Libr. Physic. Mus. 130 in Bibl. Bodl.*' T.

Commentarius in librum Aristotelis de Generatione et Corruptione. L. and Collect. p. 53. 'Lib. ii. *Iste est liber Generationis.*' T.

Super 8 libros Physicorum. Lel. Collect. IV. p. 53.

Commentarius in libros Aristotelis Meteororum. L. 'Lib. IV. *In isto libro, qui liber hujus; Principii est liber ejusdem argumenti per Burley.*' T. Vide Lel. Coll. IV. p. 53.

'Questiones Elenchorum, lib. ii.' T. 'In elencha quoque, lib. II. *de sophisticis autem elenchis,* MS. hujus Pr. MS. Bodl. Bibl. Mus. 22. MS. Coll. Mert. 'Q. 1. 12.' T.

'De Potentia, Pr. *omne quidem Fin. ad effectum.*' B. B. 'De Potentia, lib. i. *Omne quod ens est, aut ens.*' T. De Potentia et Actu. T.

'Difficilia naturalis scientiæ, lib. i. *studiosissime sæpius rogatus.*' T.

Questiones super libros Ethicorum Aristotelis. T. L. and Collect. IV. p. 53. 'Lib. X. *primum capitulum de eo quod est.*' T.

De Potentiis Animæ. *Multi circa animam erraverunt.* L. and Collect. IV. p. 53.

'De Anima Humana, lib. i. *multi circa, &c.* MS. Bodl. Digb. 104.' T.

'De Potentia animæ, lib. i. *Ut dicit Philosophus, 1. de Anim.* MS. Digb. '172.' T.

'De Lapide Philosophico, lib. i.' T.

'De Necromantia et Goetia, lib. i.' T. Gesner.

Theorica de Planetarum latitudine. L. Tanner, p. 641. 'Lib. i. *Circulus eccentricus Lunæ egress.*' T.

Praxis Geometriæ. L. 'Lib. i. in MS. Ashmol. A. Wood, Cod. 76. 30. est *Practica Geometriæ. Pr. Sciendum est de mensuris communibus. Quære, an sit Roberti Grosteste?*' T. It is his, no doubt, for, see Lel. Collect. IV. p. 53.

'De Quadratura Circuli. Pr. *Quadratura circuli per linulas.* MS. in Bibl. Bodl. 'Digb. 153.' T.

Commentarii in Boëtium de Consolatione Philosophiæ. L. Lib. V. T. MS. C. C. C. Cant.

- ‘ In Astrologiam, lib. i.’ T. Gefner. See p. 15.
 Gesnerus in Catalogo meminit libelli de lineis physicis. L. ‘ Pr. Utilitas Considerationis linearum, MS. Bodl. Laud. K. 61.’ T.
 ‘ Compendium Scientiarum, lib. i. continet hic liber primo *Philosophiæ Divisiones* (al. *partes*). 2. Compendium Philosophiæ naturalis. 3. Comp. Mathematicæ. 4. Metaphysicæ. 5. Grammaticæ. 6. Rhetoricæ. 7. Logicæ. 8. Artis Medicinalis. 9. Arithmeticæ. 10. Musicæ. 11. Geometriæ. 12. Astronomiæ. 13. Scientiæ de Aspectibus (scil. opticæ). 14. Astrologiæ. 15. Astronomiæ (a). 16. Scientiarum Mathematicarum in generali. 17. Politicorum. 18. Oeconomicorum. 19. Ethicæ. 20. De Unitate et Simplicitate. Pr. pr. *Felix prior ætati quæ tot sapientes.*’ T. who does not say where the MS. is; but I presume in Bibl. publ. Cantabr. Hb. 4. 13.
 Computus Roberti Lincolnienfis. *Capitulum primum.* Lel. Collect. IV. p. 28.
 De Computo Ecclesiastico, *Computus est Scientia numer’* L. Trithemius, p. 100.
 ‘ De Arte Computi, lib. i. cap. 12. *Computus est Scientia numerationis.*’ T.
 ‘ De Computo Ecclesiastico, lib. i. *Qui bene præfunt Presbyteri.*’ T.
 Calendarium. Trithemius, Leland, and Possevinus, esteem this different from the book *De Computo Ecclesiastico*; but bishop Tanner says, ‘ Calendarium, five de Computo Ecclesiastico, begins *Computus est Scientia*, &c. MS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. K. 61. 19.’
 ‘ Liber Distinctionum: Ordine Alphabetico. MS. Westm. 8. G. ii. 1.’ T.

M I S C E L L A N E A E D I T A.

‘ Epistolæ CI. quarum ultima (b), omnium maxime insignis, extat etiam apud Matthæum Paris, p. 870. et Annales Burtonenses, p. 326.’ A. S. John Timmouth mentions this famous epistle; and see a farther account of it on the year 1252-3. These epistles are printed by Mr. Edward Brown in Appendix to Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum, p. 307, seq.

(a) See N° 12 before. ergo, q.

(b) Though it has been thought proper to form a distinct class of these, yet it must be acknowledged, that some pieces, both of the *edita* and *inedita*, have a connection with matters of Discipline, with Philosophy, and Divinity; even many of the bishop's Epistles have an aspect towards the first of these subjects.

‘ Epistolæ

‘Epistolæ CXXVIII. in unum volumen digestæ (in Bibl. Eccl. Westm.) et indice ubere auctæ, Codex ex Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ olim mutuo sumptus est; et ex eodem Epistolæ CI. supra memoratæ sunt editæ. Epistola CXXVII. (quæ adhuc manet inedita) justi tractatus molem habet; agitque contra Exemptionem Capituli Lincolnienfis a subjectione episcopali. Incipit, *Moses, qui tradente Domino.* In codice MS. Trin Coll. Cant. seorsim ponitur, isto insignitus titulo *De Cura Pastoralis.* Aliud Exemplar Epistolarum ejusdem in Collegio C. C. asseratur.’ A. S. These Epistles have since been returned to the Cotton Library by the Church of Westminster, and were there placed under *Otho.* A. S. in margine. Mr. Brown proposed printing the other 27 letters, Fasc. p. 397, but observes, that, as the printed ones are all that give light to our antiquities, it was scarcely worth while to transcribe the rest.

Constitutiones XXXIX Dioceseos suæ Clericis directæ. A. S. B. F. p. 410. whence I have remitted them into the Appendix. They are what Leland calls *Decreta Synodalia.* ‘Hæc Decreta fere attribuuntur Gualtero Episcopo Norwic. MS. Bodl. Digby, 99.’ T. The bishop of Norwich might adopt them.

Propositio Roberti Grossthed de Visitatione Diocesis suæ. Anno Domini MCCL. coram Papâ et Cardinalibus sic proposuit venerabilis Pater Robertus Lincolnienfis Episcopus verbotenus. *Episcopi Lincolnienfis, &c.* A. S. p. 347. and see T. p. 348. ‘Positionem coram Papa Responfionem ad Papam, cum literis MSS in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. (supracitat.) ut vult Pitseus.’ T.

Super gravaminibus contra Libertates Ecclesiæ. Annal. Burt. p. 396. Life, above, A. 1250.

MISCELLANEA INEDITA.

De Computo. See the Philosophica inedita.

Constitutiones datæ Priori et Conventui de Newenham. A. S. In Cotton Library, Otho C. XV. 1, 2, we have ‘Roberti Ep. Lincoln. Epistola monitoria ad Priorem et Conv. de Newenham, una cum Actis Visitationis hujus Conventus, A. D. 1232, per Archidiaconum Lincoln.’ Tanner, Notit. p. 6. This was in the time of bishop Hugh de Welles; Newenham is in Bedfordshire, and Almaricus de Buge den was the archdeacon. This, I presume, is the same MS. with that in

A. S. for the Westminster MS. was restored to the Cotton Library. See before in the *Miscellanea edita*.

De ratione Studiorum suorum. Gefner. 'De suo Studio, lib. i.' T. who adds, 'Rob. Grosst. librum de Studio citat Tho. Waldensis, lib. iv. c. 77.'

'De Epistolis excerpta. Pr. *In secunda Epistola*.' T.

De mutua Collatione Antiquorum. A. S.

'Regulæ quas bonæ memoriæ Rob. Grosstest fecit Comitisse Lyncolniæ ad custodiendum et regendum terras, hospitium, domum et familiam. Pr. *Quantum ad terras vestras forinfecas*.' T. See the Life, A. 1240, or 1241.

De Civilitate morum, Carmine . . . *stans puer ad mensam domini*. L. 'Lib. i.' T. This is the only piece of Latin poetry we have of the bishop's.

Tonitru contra Curiam Romanam. L. See the Life, A. 1252-3.

'Lib. i. *Dissertationes lugubres* Roberti morituri adversus oppressiones Ecclesiæ a Romano Pontifice illatas reperiuntur in M. Paris, An. 1253.' T. See the Life in that year.

'De Dotibus, lib. i. *Primo tractandum est de Dote*.' T.

'De modo Visitandi. Pr. *Itaque post primo*.' T.

'Parvum Catonem, lib. i. *Cum animadverterem quamplurimos*. . . . Hic liber est solummodo Comm. in Disticha Catonis, uti recte sentit cl. Jamesius. Errant itaque Pitseus, Magdeburg. Centuriatores, et Gul. Caxton (Chron in ann. 5249), qui eum Catonis *Distichorum* in Scholis usitatorum auctorem esse tradunt. A Wood, MS. Vide Boston Bur. in *Cat*. In MS. C. C. C. Cantabr. D. 2. extat (per anon). Memoriale Presbyterorum Parochialium e diversis Doctorum tractatibus sub brevitate extractum. Pr. *Cum animadvertarem quamplurimos presbyteros*' T.

'In Vesperis Adæ de Marisco, lib. i.' T. See the Life of Adam de Marisco.

'Memoriale, lib. I. *Est Introitus interior*.' T.

'Quær. an Historiam aliquam scripsit, haud semel enim citatur Grossum Caput a Fordonio. i. 13. Stillingfl. pr. lii.' T. and in Dr. Smith (Index ad Catal. Bibl. Cott.), we have *E chronicis illius [Grossthead] excerpta*. No page is added, but see p. 16.

'Annotationes in Suidam, lib. i.' T. Gefner. See the Translations.

Epistola contra Appropriationes Beneficiorum, beginning, '*Dominus noster Jesus Christus*.' Leland. Coll. IV. p. 47.

Collectanea in his own hand-writing. 'Vide MS. Langb. IV. 655 et 661.

'V. 94. de quibusdam Collectaneis in MS. Bodl. Digby 168 et 178, quæ ejus videntur esse autographa. Ita etiam MS. Bodl. NE. A. S. 1.' T.

De Algorismo. v. p. 435.

FRENCH.

F R E N C H.

These, universally, remain still in Manuscript, and are likely to do so.

Regulæ Agriculturæ per menses digestæ, Gallicè. A. S. and it is ascribed to the bishop in that form by the old Catalogue of the Peterborough library, '*Liber qui vocatur HOUSBONDRIE, Gallicè.*' Gunton, p. 224. But one would suppose from what follows, that he only translated it out of French into English, 'A Treatise of Husbandry, which Mayster Groshede, sometime bishop of Lincoln, made and translated out of French in English, cap. xvi. Pr. *The Fader in bys old age sayth 4to.*' Tanner, who does not tell where the book is (a). Among bishop More's books in the public library at Cambridge is a 4to. "buke of husbandry." Under this title on a scroll is the cut of a person standing in a wood or park, giving orders to a woodman who is felling a tree. It contains 18 leaves. "Here begyn-
"neth a tratyse of Husbandry which mayster Groshede, sometyme byshop of Lyn-
"coln, made and translated it out of Frenshe into Englyshe, which techeth all man-
"ner of men to governe theyr londs, tenements, and demenes, ordinatly as the
"chapytres evidently is shewed." It concludes with, "Here endeth the buke of
"Husbandry, and of plantynge and graffynge of trees and vynes." No date or printer mentioned. (Herbert's edition of Ames Typog. Antiq. p. 217.) Perhaps, the bishop first wrote it in French, and then translated it into English; however, somebody rendered it into Latin, it seems, '*De Agricultura (Translatio)*, lib. i. '*Pater ætate decrepita.* MS. Coll. Magdal. Oxon. 57. olim in Bibl. Monast. Syon. in Bibl. Westmin.' T.

Tractatus bene prolixus, de Articulis Fidei, Lingua Gallica. A. S. See below, *Le Chasteau d'Amour.* See also above, de Articulis Fidei.

'Enchiridion, lib. i. qu. idem sit cum *manuel de Peckes* (b), quod gallice scripsit Rob. Grosst. et in Angl. Rythmos transtulit Rob. Brunensis, quem vide.' T. It is just mentioned by B. B. In the Catalogue of the Harleyan MSS, it is said to be *Anglicè*, and, perhaps, is the translation of Robert of Bourne, who flourished in 1303, and of whom see more in Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry, I. p. 59, seq. and Mr. Hearne's Preface to Robert of Glocester, p. lviii. seq. Neither original, nor translation, excepting some extracts from the latter, are published (c). The English Version, we are told, was paraphrastical (d). I presume it may be extant in the Bodleian Library, N° 4057, though the bishop's name be not added, under this description, 'The Manual of Sinners in French verse.'

(a) See Mr. Ames, Typogr. Antiq. p. 108.

(b) Or, Manuel Peche. Mr. Warton, History of English Poetry, p. 59.

(c) In Mr. Warton, Ibid.

(d) Of this mixed language, called in the later ages *Lingua Romana*, or *Roman*. See bishop Huet in his book de Origine Fabularum Romanensium, p. 84. Mr. Warton, p. 66.

Le Chasteau d'Amour. L. *Ki bien pense*, Idem postea. 'Lib. i. de *Casto amore*
 'Pits. *De Castro Amoris* Langb. A Wood, MS. Pits.' This answers best to the
 French title. It is a religious or theological Romance, for bishop Tanner proceeds,
 ' *Tractatus in Lingua Romana (a) secundum Dominum Robertum Grosseteste, Episcopum*
 ' *Lincolniensem*; De Principio Creationis mundi; de medio et fine; De amissione
 ' mundi per peccatum; De restauratione ejusdem per misericordiam; De Rege et
 ' filio suo unico Patri suo æquali; et de quatuor filiabus suis, sc. de Misericordia
 ' et Veritate, et de Justitia et Pace. Item de Adventu Jesu Christi quomodo in-
 ' travit in quoddam Castellum, quod fuit Corpus intemeratæ Mariæ, et de Pro-
 ' prietate Castelli. Item de Propheta Ysaia dicente, *Puer natus est nobis, et filius*
 ' *natus est nobis*, &c. Item de fine seculi et de die Judicii. Item de pœnis inferni,
 ' et de gaudiis cœli. Et quamvis Lingua Romana coram clericis saporem suavi-
 ' tatis non habeat, tamen pro Laicis, qui minus intelligunt, opusculum istud
 ' aptum est. Quia prudens Lector, qui nôrit suggerere mel de petra, oleumque de
 ' saxo durissimo, scriptum inveniet plenum dulcedine, in quo continentur omnes
 ' Articuli Fidei, tam Divinitatis quam Humanitatis. Ita MS. Bodl. Laud. F. 16.
 ' et C. C. C. Oxon 232, vide infra, de *Articulis Fidei*, &c.' T. I much suspect it
 to be the same with the French MS. cited from Mr. Wharton above. de *Articulis*
fidei. And quere, whether *Tractatus de vero Amore*, Gallicè. Gunton, p. 222, be
 not the same; as also, *Tractatus de origine mundi secundum Rob. Grosstest*, Gallicè.
 Idem, p. 224; and again, the MS. thus described in Cat. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. N^o
 4057. *Rob. Grossthead de Principio Creationis mundi*, &c. Carmine Gallico.
 Bishop Tanner, however, goes on 'Sed in Bibl. Bodl. extat MS. Rythmicis Gal-
 ' licis conscript. et Roberto Grosstesto attributus, cui titulus, *Tractatus Theol. in*
 ' *quo continentur omnes Articuli Fidei, tam Divinitatis quam Humanitatis*. Pr.
 ' *Qui bien pense, ben put dire*. Vide A. Wood, MS. de Lingua Roman seu Gal-
 ' lica (b), in qua scriptus est, Hic Liber Gallice extat, MS. Bodl. NE. D. 69.
 ' sub titulo, *Romance par Mustre Robert le Grosseteste*, agitque de Creatione mundi,
 ' Hominis Lapsu, et Redemptione, &c. Poetice. MS. Langb. Extat etiam MS.
 ' Bibl. Bodl. E. 4. 14. In l'bro permagno Southel. MS. Bodl. p. 92. Her be-
 ' gynnet a Tretise that ys yclêped Castel of Love, that bishop Grosstest made ywis
 ' for lewd mens behove. Pr. That good thinketh good may do.' T. In Gunton,
 ' p. 218, we have ' *Tractatus Qui in Lingua Romana secundum Robertum Grosstest*
 ' *Episcopum Lincoln*,' which I suppose must mean this piece, of which the first
 word being *Ki*, the old vulgar way of writing the French *qui*. The compiler of
 the Catalogue there has very properly denoted it by that initial. Let the learned
 judge.

There is an English rythmical Version of this long Poem, made probably in the
 reign of Edward the First, and, as is conjectured by a very able judge, by Robert
 de Brunne (c), from whose performance Mr. Warton has given a copious extract
 or two, premising a few lines from the beginning of the original, and producing

(a) Warton, I. p. 59.

(b) In Præf. to Lib. de Cess. Legal. p. 13, it is falsely printed *le Chastian d'Amours*.

(c) Warton, History of English Poetry, ubi sup.

in his Notes certain other small portions of it (*a*). See, for Mr. Tyrwhitt's MS. of a French metrical version of this piece, page 275.

Sarmun cument hom doit hair peche. In Mr. Tyrwhitt's volume, for which see p. 329 above.

E N G L I S H.

These again are none of them printed; and it may be doubted whether the original works be his, or translations made by other and later hands.

Sermones et Tractatus plures, Anglice. A. S.

'Stimulus Conscientiæ (rythmis antiquis Angl.), lib. vii. *The might of the Fader of Hevene*, Hoc opus, quod vulgo Ricardo Hampolo ascribitur, dicunt MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. K. 65 et G. 21. uti etiam MS. Digby 14. Roberto Linc. deberi.' T. et vide eum, p. 375. The Author of the Præface to the book *De Cessatione Legalium* when he says the bishop wrote verse, *patrio sermone*, must mean this work, though the authority is but doubtful. The MSS. of which, I think there are four in the Bodleian library (*b*), vary so much (*c*), that I am of opinion, that there were two metrical versions in English of Hampole's Latin Prose (*d*), and that Hampole was not author of either of them, since, as Mr. Warton observes, it is not very likely that he should translate his own work (*e*). However, the poem, called the Pricke of Conscience, is but a translation; and if Hampole, who died in 1348, composed the original, the translation could not be made by our bishop; on the contrary, Mr. Warton, with good reason, refers the two versions to the reign of king Edward III. One Richard Colins was accused before bishop Longland, about the year 1521, for having certain *English* books, amongst which was 'a book called the Pricke of Conscience,' probably this very work (*f*).

(*a*) Warton, History of English Poetry, I. p. 78.

(*b*) Warton, p. 262.

(*c*) My MS. which seems to accord with *Digby*, 14, differs vastly from the specimens given by Mr. Warton; and see Warton, p. 262.

(*d*) It was not uncommon for pieces to be translated by different hands, and in particular *Hampole's* works. See Warton, p. 265.; and Mr. Warton himself there speaks of two versions of the *Stimulus Conscientiæ*.

(*e*) Warton, p. 265.

(*f*) Fox, Martyrology, II. p. 47.

Manuale Peccatorum (Anglice), 273, 31, 1731. Catal. Libr. MSS Bibl. Harl. A translation, no doubt, from the French piece registered above, to which I refer.

A thick vellum MS. of English Poetry, in large octavo, consisting of 388 pages, in the Library at Lincoln, and formerly the property of dean Honeywood, has been thought to contain a work of bishop Grosseteste's. It is a long tract *on the Lord's Prayer*, and is imperfect both at beginning and ending. The language is too modern for the bishop's age; wherefore, to hazard a conjecture about the Author, Richard Hampole, who died in 1349, about a century after our prelate, wrote *Super orationem Dominicam*, in one book, in Latin; it began, *Hæc oratio privilegia est*, and was printed at Cologne in 1536, fol. whereupon bishop Tanner writes; 'Inter MSS. Episcopi Norw. More 215, est proluxa Paraphrasis in Orat. *Dominicam*, rythmis Anglie. Continens Descriptiones fere omnium tum virtutum, tum vitiorum,' which accords perfectly with this Lincoln book, and the beginning, it seems, is,

Almighty God in Trinite

In whom is only Personnes thre(a).

But as our book is mutilated in this part, no judgement can be formed from these lines. The bishop then goes on, 'Ad finem hæc nota; *explicit quidam tractatus super Pater noster secundum Ric. Hampole, qui obiit A. D. 1384.* [1384 in eod. Cod. in alio loco(b)]. Qu. an Ric. Hampol transtulit hunc tractatum(c)?' I do not suppose Richard to have been the translator, but the author, as he wrote in English metre on the subject(d), as well as in Latin prose. I always inclined to think dean Honeywood's MS. was the same book as this of bishop More, and so it proves; I got my learned friend, Mr. George Ashby, President of St. John's College, Cambridge, to inspect bishop More's MS. and he found it to be the same with ours, but had 88 lines more at the end, and many pages more at the beginning(e). On the whole, Hampole wrote upon the Lord's Prayer in Latin, and, according to the foregoing account, in English metre also, so that the Lincoln MS. may be the latter performance. But, quære, after all, whether the English performance be Hampole's; not only from the improbability of his translating his own work, but also because the language appears too modern for his age. Authors and translators are frequently confounded(f), and therefore I am for ascribing the version to some later Author, and why not to John Lydgate, whose style it much resembles, and who wrote '*Oratio Dominica Paraphrastica Exposita. Pr. Atwixe dred and trembling.* Stow, Hist. p. 342. Se vidisse ait orationem dominicam, et

(a) See Mr. Warton, p. 265.

(b) This is thought to be the true date. Warton, l. c. p. 265.

(c) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 374.

(d) Mr. Warton, History of English Poetry, p. 265, says, Hampole wrote on the Lord's Prayer in English rhyme.

(e) Some leaves seem to be transposed in binding; after page 372 a leaf is wanting, another page 380 and 382. The Authors cited are Ambrose, Anselm, Augustine, Bernard, Book of Kind of Beasts, Cyprian, Gregory, Hierom, Isidore, Seneca, Tullius, and Vitæ Patrum.

(f) Mr. Warton, p. 78.

' nonnullos Psalmos Davidis cum diversis Hymnis et Canticis in heroica Carmina Anglice conversos, per I. L. (a)' For, though our Lincoln book is not the first of these works, which begins differently, and probably was in prose, yet it might be the latter seen by Stow, as this was both in verse, and was translated from a Latin original. Let the reader judge for himself.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK EDITED.

' Testamentum XII. Patriarcharum ab eo Latine conversum, prodiit Paris 1549, 12mo. Et in Bibliotheca Patrum ac Orthodoxographis. Basil. p. 861. Latine id transtulit Lincolnienfis, anno 1242, juxta Annales Londinenses MSS. Sic et Nota vetusta ad calcem exemplaris ipsius MS. in Trin. Coll. Cant. quæ sic habet, "Nostris temporibus venerabilis Lincolnienfis Episcopus Robertus ii. (b) anno Dominicæ incarnationis MCCXLII. illud scriptum a Græco in Latinum, in quibus idiomatibus fuisse perhibetur peritissimus, assistente ei Clerico *Elichero* (c), ab ecclesia B. Albani beneficiato, natione et conversatione (d) Græco, diligenter transtulit ac fideliter," A. S.' We are told by M. Paris, that the version was *de verbo ad verbum*. John of Tinmouth says, the bishop *caused* many things to be translated out of the Greek, and then mentions the Testament (e). N. Trivet intimates the same (f); but M. Paris is express, that the bishop made the version himself (g); and these authors are easily reconciled together, by supposing that his lordship was assisted in the work, as very probably he was. 'Testamenta duodecim (Patriarcharum) e Græco translata.' L. And bishop Tanner notes on the word *Græco*, 'Johannis Chrysostomi (qui id ex Hebr. transtulit MS. Norwic. More, 177) lib. i. Transcriptum Testament. Reuben.' He then specifies the MSS and editions. The book has been translated into French, Dutch, and English. "The testamente of the twelve patriarches, the sonnes of Jacob, translated out of Greeke into Latine by Robert Grosthed, sometime bishop of Lincolne, and out of hys copy into French

(a) Tanneri Bibliotheca, p. 492.

(b) Rather Robertus iii. Robert Bloet and Robert de Chesney preceding him. Mr. Wood makes the same mistake, p. 81.

(c) Nicolas the Greek. See the Life, p. 162.

(d) Language.

(e) Joh. Tinmouth, in Ang. Sac. II. p. 347.

(f) N. Trivet, p. 204.

(g) M. Paris, pp. 597, 835. See the Life, p. 163.

and Dutch by others: Now englished by A. G. (*Arthur Golding*). To the credit whereof an auncient Greeke cotype, written in parchment, is kept in the University of Cambridge." A cut of Jacob bolstered up in bed, with his sons about him. "At London printed by John Daye, near Aldersgate, 1581," with cuts, a preface by Richard Daye, and at the end an account how these testaments were found (a). Richard Day (b), besides the preface, premised the Death and Testament of Jacob, and reprinted it 1589 (c). It was again printed by Richard Yardley, for the assignees of Richard Day, 1590, with wooden cuts (d); but the versions and editions, being numerous, need not here be recited Ricardus Grekeladenfis, who died about 1310, wrote *de Testamento Patrum* (e).

Verſio Latine et Commentarius in omnia Dionysii Areopagitæ, exceptis Epistolis, opera. Ang. Sac. See also B. F. p. 306. Tinmouth says he *caused* (f) the books of Dionysius to be translated, and then adds, 'quorum novam translationem perlucide commentavit,' intimating, that there was an old translation of them before (g), 'Commentarii in Libros Dionysii de Hierarchia, lib. iv. *Non invenio in Exemplari.* Gr.' Leland. And see Collectan. iv. p. 129, but rather Lib. ii (b). However, the Commentary on the Mystical Theology was in vi books, for so bishop Tanner, 'Lib. vi. Extat Commentarius in Dionysii Areopagitæ Librum de Mystica Theologia. Pr. *Mystica Theologia est secretissima* Prodiit inter opera Dionysii, Argentini. 1502 fol. Porro in omnia Dionysii opera, exceptis *Epistolis*, commentatus est Robertus, versionemque eorum Latinam ex omnibus interpretibus simul collatis consarcinavit;' as if he only interpolated and corrected the older versions. Bishop Tanner proceeds, 'Rob. Grosset. Sermo *De triplici Hierarchia* (Pr. *Cum in Hierarchia Cælesti*) extat Oxon. in Biblioth. Bodl. MS. Sup. M. 4. Art. 4.' The author of the Præface "De Cessione Legal." writes, p. 14. 'Dionysii Areopagitæ exemplum secutus, librum de divinis nominibus scripsisse testatur Conradus Gesnerus, 'facili errore, cum Dionysii perlucidam duntaxat versionem commentasse rectius tradat Nicholaus Trivetius; vel si major *Pitsæo* fides adhibenda sit, Dionysii Annotationes tantum suas attexuit.'

(a) Ames, p. 246. Herbert, p. 670. I have this copy; and it was reprinted in 1693.

(b) See concerning him in Ames's Typog. Antiq. p. 246. Herbert, p. 680.

(c) Herbert, p. 682.

(d) Ames, p. 400. Herbert, p. 1206.

(e) Pits. p. 397. Tanner, BB. 626. See Fabricii Cod. Pseud. V. T.

(f) See N. Trivet, p. 204.

(g) See below. Joh. Scotus Erigena had formerly translated Dionysius's Hierarchia, but in a very uncouth style, *ut vix intelligatur Latina litera*. Gul. Malmsb. in Wharton, Ang. Sac. ii. p. 27. See Cave, and Tanner, B. B. p. 263.

(b) See Tanner.

TRANS-

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK INEDITED.

Annotationes in Librum Damasceni de Orthodoxâ Fide, malè e Græco interpretatum. L. *Lib. iv. T.* The work seems intended chiefly to correct the old Version.

John Leland, *Collectan. III. p. 335*, speaks of other Greek Fathers, besides Dionysius and Damascenus, translated by Grosseteste; but quere, unless the next work be meant.

Affertio Virginitatis Divæ Mariæ, e Græco translata. L. Bishop Tanner adds, ' *Lib. i. Temporibus piissimi Imp. Justiniani.* Ita incipit, "Narratio ex libro qui Græce *Suda* (a) vocatur, quem composuerunt Viri sapientes, quam transtulit Magister R. Lincoln. Episcopus e Grec. in Latinum, viz. De Virginitate et Fæcunditate B. Mariæ, et de filio ejus Jesu, qualiter electus erat in sacerdotem in Templum Domini," MS. C. C. Cantabr. K. 1.' Idem iterum, p. 350. 'Suidam e Greco transtulit, lib. i. uti testatur Th. Waldensis, lib. v. cap. 113 (A. Wood, MS.), MS. Col. Trin. Cantab. Class. 24, Scrip. 1. Cod. 19. In Codice quodam, MS. antiq. in Bibl. regia Westmon. S. B. iv. habentur Narrationes ex Libro *Suda* dicto, quem e Græco in Latinum transtulit Robertus Lincoln.' This legendary story makes a long article in Suidas, v. Ἰησοῦς (b); and one cannot but lament the bishop's ill fate, to be always employing his care and pains on Greek authors of so little estimation, on vain and credulous, if not spurious and pseudonymous, writers. However, it appears, that the bishop was far from translating all Suidas's Lexicon, as sometimes it is represented (c).

(a) Suidas. v. Lud. Kufteri Annot. ad Suidam. I. p. 1; also Boston of Bury; and the Royal Library, below. Fabric. B. Gr. IX. p. 622.

(b) It is a passage of note, but legendary. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. I. p. 371. II. p. 547.

(c) Mr. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, Dissert. II. p. CXLII. Fabric. B. Gr. IX. p. 635. Et in Cod. Apocr. N. T. I. p. 372.

APPENDIX, N^o I.

OF THE NAME GROSSETESTE.

AT the time of our Prelate's birth, in the 12th century, gentilitia or family names were not common in this kingdom, especially not amongst meaner people (a); and therefore, though we have since had English families of the name of Great-head (b), and though we meet with an Oxonian of the name of *Richard Grostest*, about the year 1238 (c), and with a Mr. John Grosteteste, rector of Wiffenden in the county of Rutland, who died in 1245 (d); yet it cannot be thence inferred, that any such surname was in being a century before. These persons probably took their names from our prelate, as being some way or other dependent upon him, either retainers in his household, or youths who received their education at his expence (e). There is no reason, therefore, for thinking, that either Copley (f), or Grosteteste, was the bishop's proper surname (g), but that the latter was imposed upon him afterwards by his friends and associates. Nic. Trivet's expression concerning him seems forcibly to imply as much, '*Moritur Robertus Lincolnienſis Præſul, qui cognominatus eſt a pluribus Groſſum-Caput (h).*' Matthew Paris delivers himſelf to the ſame effect, when he ſays, *Roberto cognomento Groſſeteste*, and B. Roberto dicto *Groſſum Caput (i)*; for this is his manner of writing when he deſcribes perſons by

(a) Camden, Remains. They were ſtill content, in general, with Patronymics. See Buchanan, Hiſt. p. 202.

(b) As in Warwickſhire. So Robert Gretehed was parſon of Leckington, in the county of Derby, 4 Richard II. and the Romans had their *Capitones*. And Swinburne, Travels in the two Sicilies, p. 261. gives us an Italian name of *Teſte Groſſe*.

(c) Wood, Hiſtory and Antiquities, p. 90.

(d) Biſhop Groſſeteste's Roll, A^o 11^o.

(e) See above on the year 1240, p. 89.

(f) See Appendix, N^o II.

(g) His ſiſter has no ſurname in Brown's Faſcic. II. p. 310.

(h) Nic. Trivet, p. 204.

(i) M. Paris, pp. 409, 998.

their natural and original names; and Richard of Bardney expressly terms it a *Title* (a). But you will say, does not Robert attest an instrument by the name of *Robert Grosseteste* (b)? And does not this denote that it was the real family name? I answer, These attestations were not always written by the witnesses themselves, but by the scribes that drew the deeds, or at least attended the execution of them; and that instrument in question did not pass till after the year 1209, long enough after Robert was currently known by the name of *Grosseteste*, so that it was natural enough for the clerk to describe him by it.

It is supposed by Dr. Browne Willis (c), that Robert first obtained at Paris the sobriquet, or surname, of *Grosseteste*, by which he was afterwards so commonly distinguished. This, however, is not so certain, as the French language prevailed very generally in England at this time, so that he might just as well have acquired that *agnomen* here as in France. And we are sure it was imposed upon him here before the year 1199; for Giraldus Cambrensis, who, I presume, may be the first author in whom it occurs, designs him by it in his epistle to the bishop of Hereford (d), which was undoubtedly written before that year. It was probably given him at Oxford, when, after his return from Paris, he there publicly professed philosophy and theology with an uncommon eclat. But, leaving this matter in suspense, we shall proceed on the meaning and import of this honourable title.

According to the conceit, and the jocular language of that facetious writer, Dr. Thomas Fuller, 'He got his surname from the *greatness of his head*, having 'large *stowage* to receive, and *store* of brains to fill it (e);' implying, that the bishop had naturally a large head, greater than common; a supposition, for which I believe there are no good grounds; the addition rather conveying to us a notion of the extensiveness of the bishop's capacity, since we still use the phrase of a *great*, or a *long head*, whenever we mean to describe a person of an elevated genius, of a strong intellect, of an acute and penetrating, and at the same time, a comprehensive mind (f). We borrowed it from the Latin (g); *Caput Magnum*, being equivalent to *Ingenium Magnum* of Livy; and *Capitalis*, signifying witty or ingenious (h); whereupon I may observe, that, even supposing the bishop to have been

(a) *Lincolniæ floret Roberti titulus, nomine grande caput.* Bardney, p. 330.

(b) Dugd. Monast. I. p. 681.

(c) Willis, II. p. 51.

(d) Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 344.

(e) Fuller, Ch. Hist. Lib. III. p. 65.

(f) It is thus I understand that line in Richard de Bardney, p. 330.

————— *Lincolniæ floret*

Roberti titulus, nomine grande caput.

(g) Cicero de Oratore, II. c. 61; quere, whether *Ricardus Magnus*, chancellor of Lincoln, and elected archbishop of Canterbury in 1229, did not acquire both that name, and that of *Wethershed*, from the same cause as Malcolm III. did that of *Canmore*, which signifies *Μεγαλοκέφαλος*. Buchanan, p. 198. E. Lloyd, pp. 8, 46. See particularly Gibson in Camden, col. 800; and Camden, Remains, p. 108.

(h) Hence Ovid, *Capitale vocamus Ingenium follers*. Fasti, III, 839. ubi vide Annotata in Edit. Burmann.

of the family of Copley, as is imagined by some (see N° II.), this interpretation will still continue to be sufficiently apposite, since *Cob* and *Cop* in our language (*a*) denote *eminence*, and *excellence*, the taking the lead, or being at the *head* of any matter or pursuit (*b*).

This addition was of singular a nature, and the sense of it so obvious, in the explanation we have given of it, that it was impossible for Richard of Bardney not to make some use of it, and to say something on the subject for the amusement and surprize of his readers. He, accordingly, in the fruitfulness of his imagination, makes Robert's mother, during her pregnancy, to dream, that she was with child with nothing but a *head*, which he expounds as a presage, that the infant was to be *the head of the church*. This was the signification of the *head*, whilst the *greatness* of it betokened Robert's future eloquence and *grandiloquentia*. And to this he adds, as a farther topic of admiration, that she fancied she saw him, immediately upon his birth, walk away with a *staff*; by which invention Richard intends a prognostication to the mother, and to all the world, that the child was in future to be dignified with a crosier or pastoral staff (*c*).

But, passing these whimsies of our superficial and trifling poet, *Grosseteste*, as M. Paris accurately describes it (*d*), was the bishop's common addition, according to the French idiom, as *Grosthed* was in the English, people in those times using what language they pleased, either French or English. Authors again use great variety in the orthography, as appears both from Mr. Wood (*e*), and bishop Tanner (*f*), from the former of whom I shall insert the several variations.

‘Cæterum de Roberti illius nomine variatur haud parum apud authores, Romano perinde ac Anglico sermone scribentes. Latinis appellatur,

1. ‘Lincolniensis (*g*), et hoc ut plurimum nomine occurrit, in excusis æque libris ac manuscriptis.
2. ‘Robertus Lincolniensis (*h*).
3. ‘Rob. Grossum Caput (*i*).
4. ‘Rob. Capito (*k*).

(*a*) As also in the British and Dutch.

(*b*) Lye, Sax. Dict. v. *Copp*. Littleton, v. *Cob* and *Copp*.

(*c*) For the same purpose he tells us, that the mayor of Lincoln offered Robert a bone of a fowl, when he was begging at his door, on the jocular condition, *that he would never be bishop of that city* (for this is the sense of those lines,

Fœderis hoc pacto fructum [i. frustum] tibi fume caponis,

Quod nunquam Præsul istius urbis eris),

Robert had the grace to refuse the terms, though he was starving.

(*d*) M. Paris, p. 409.

(*e*) Wood, Hist. and Antiq. I. p. 81.

(*f*) Tanneri Bibliotheca, p. 345.

(*g*) In quodam MS. inter Cod. Laud. F. 12. & E. 44. & G. 21. ibidem, et alibi passim.

(*h*) Ibid. inter Cod. E. 52.

(*i*) Trivet, & Roger Bacon in 3^{ta} parte operis majoris, MS. cap. 1. [Richard de Bardney, *Grande Caput*, to which we may add *crassum caput*, and *Grossum* alone, if there be not an omission of *Caput*, in Leland apud Tanner, p. 431. *Crassum*, however, has an opposite meaning with us.

(*k*) Bale. Cent. 4 nu. 18. Pits. æt. nu. 359. Add, Leland in Tanner, Bibliotheca, pp. 343, 758. Brucker, Hist. Philos. p. 508.

5. ' Robertus Grossa Testa (a), composita e Latino et Gallico appellatione.
 6. ' Rupertus Lincolnienfis (b).
 7. ' Rob. Groshedius (c).

' Neque minus discrepant Anglicanæ ipsius (in libris tum impressis tum manu
 ' exaratis repertæ) Nuncupationes, vocatur enim.

1. ' Grosteteste (d).

2. ' Grostest,

3. ' Grostet.

4. ' Grosthead.

5. ' Grouthead.

6. ' Grostede.

7. ' Greathead.

8. ' Grostheved.

9. ' Greatered.

10. ' Grosehede.

11. ' Grokede.

12. ' Grosehede, &c.

' E quibus nominibus primum illud Gallicanum, septimum vero Anglicum, ad
 ' literam est; reliquis omnibus Librariorum vel Imperitiâ vel Incuria, Errores (e),
 ' quos vides, subreperunt. *Episcopum* plerumque *Lincolniensem* appellatum depre-
 ' hendo; quanquam apud exteros, rerum utpote nostrarum ignaros, *Episcopus*
 ' *Lancastrensis* audit, uti Gabrieli Naudeo, Cardinalis nuper *Mazarini* Bibliothecario
 ' nominatur (f). Quinetiam a peregrinis haud raro *Episcopus Lincolnienfis* (g) vo-
 ' citatur, ut in operibus *Johannis Hus* (h) passim contingit. Sic etiam ille qui com-
 ' mentarium *Grostesti* ad *Aristotelis* Posteriora edidit (i), ingraviorem adhuc errorem,
 ' et non nisi temporum illorum Caligini donandum, inductus, *Robertum Lincolniensem*,
 ' Archiepiscopum *Parisiensem* vocat. Denique in Libro quodam, MS. peranti-
 ' quo (k), M'rum de *Lunochiâ*, præpingui Amanuenis inscitiâ, nuncupatum of-
 ' fendo.'

What is here observed of *Episcopus Lincolnienfis*, or, what is equally common,
Robertus Lincolnienfis, is really fact; whence the anonymous editor of our prelate's

(a) Brucker, Hist. Philos. p. 508.

(b) Catal. Testium Veritatis, Lib. xvi. et alibi; but, as Rupert and Robert are the same name, this coincides with N° II.

(c) Harpsfield, Hist. Eccles. Angliæ Sæc. XIII. p. 476.

(d) This, which we have in M. Paris, and in Wikes, p. 43, I suppose to be the truth, but I find it varied into Grostetest, Grosteteste, Grosteteth, Grosteteth.

(e) This, however, I do not think is the case of N° V. IX. and X.

(f) In Hist. sua Art. Magicæ, edit. Gallice, cap. 18.

(g) Quære, if not some mistake here.

(h) Edit. Norribergiæ, 1558, tom. I. pp. 17, 56, &c. et in tom. II. pp. 88, &c.

(i) Impress. Venet. per Otinum Papiensem, 1497. Et ibid. iterum per Hieron. Scot, 1552.

(k) In Bibliotheca Bodl. H. VII. 13. Theol.

book *De Cessione Legalium* writes, 'Immo (quod in magnam ejus gloriam cedit) sicut *Poeta* pro *Homero*, *Orator* pro *Cicerone*, pro *Aristotele* *Philosophus*, καὶ Ἀριστοφάνειαν supponitur, sic *Lincolniensis* et *Groste* apud *Literatos* idem sonant, factumque est *Diocesces* suæ nomen commune *Episcopo* huic *Lincolniensi* peculiare et proprium (a).'

To the varieties in Mr. Wood may be added,

Grosthed.

Grosthede.

Groseteht. Chron. de Burgo. p. 107.

Grosteyst. Warton, History of English Poetry, p. 79.

Groceste. John de Schalby, MS. at Lincoln.

Groosteste. Warton, History of English Poetry, p. 59.

Granthed. Burton, Description of Leicestershire, p. 119.

Groshed.

Groshede.

De Grosthead. Willis, Surv. of Cath. II. p. 109, which one cannot approve, as it certainly is not the name of a place.

(a) See particularly *Præf. ad Libr. de Cess. Legat.* p. 6.

APPENDIX,

A P P E N D I X, N^o II.*The Parentage, Country, and Time, of Bishop GROSSETESTE's Birth, discussed.*

There is a disagreement subsisting amongst Antiquaries in regard to bishop Grosseteste's extraction, as likewise to certain other particulars concerning him, which, as they require a longer and more ample discussion than could well be included in our notes, it has been thought proper to consider them here.

The general opinion formerly was, that the bishop's descent was but mean and low, and this prevailed amongst those who lived nearest to his times, and even with some that were his contemporaries. Thus the Annals of Lanercost say, he was *genere quidem infimus, sed scientia clarissimus, &c (a)*. Richard of Bardney, who flourished in 1504 (*b*), insists much upon the same (*c*); Dr. Thomas Gascoigne, who died in 1457 (*d*), calls him *pauperem origine (e)*. And to come nearer to the bishop's own age, Matthew of Westminster, who flourished, according to Mr. Wharton, in 1307 (*f*), writes expressly, 'Iste Robertus Episcopus Lincoln. *de ima Suffolchiæ gente, in villâ de Strodbrocke, traxit originem.*' And so Nic. Trivet, a very credible author, born soon after the bishop's death, and a Norfolk man, 'Qui licet *de ima gente Suthfolciæ, Northwicensis diœcesis, originem traxerit, tamen bonam naturæ indolem præceptis scripturarum exercens, produxit animum generosum (g).*' But Matthew Paris, the bishop's contemporary, and whose testimony may be supposed to be more than equivalent to all the rest, speaking of the quarrel between the bishop and the dean and chapter of Lincoln, says of the canons,

(a) Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 341. Lanercost was a priory in Cumberland. The Annals are now in the British Museum. They are continued by different hands to the year 1347. Ang. Sac. in Præf. p. xvii. and the former part was probably about the bishop's own time.

(b) Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 311.

(c) Ric. Bardneiens. in Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. pp. 327, 328, 335.

(d) Tanneri Bibliotheca, p. 311.

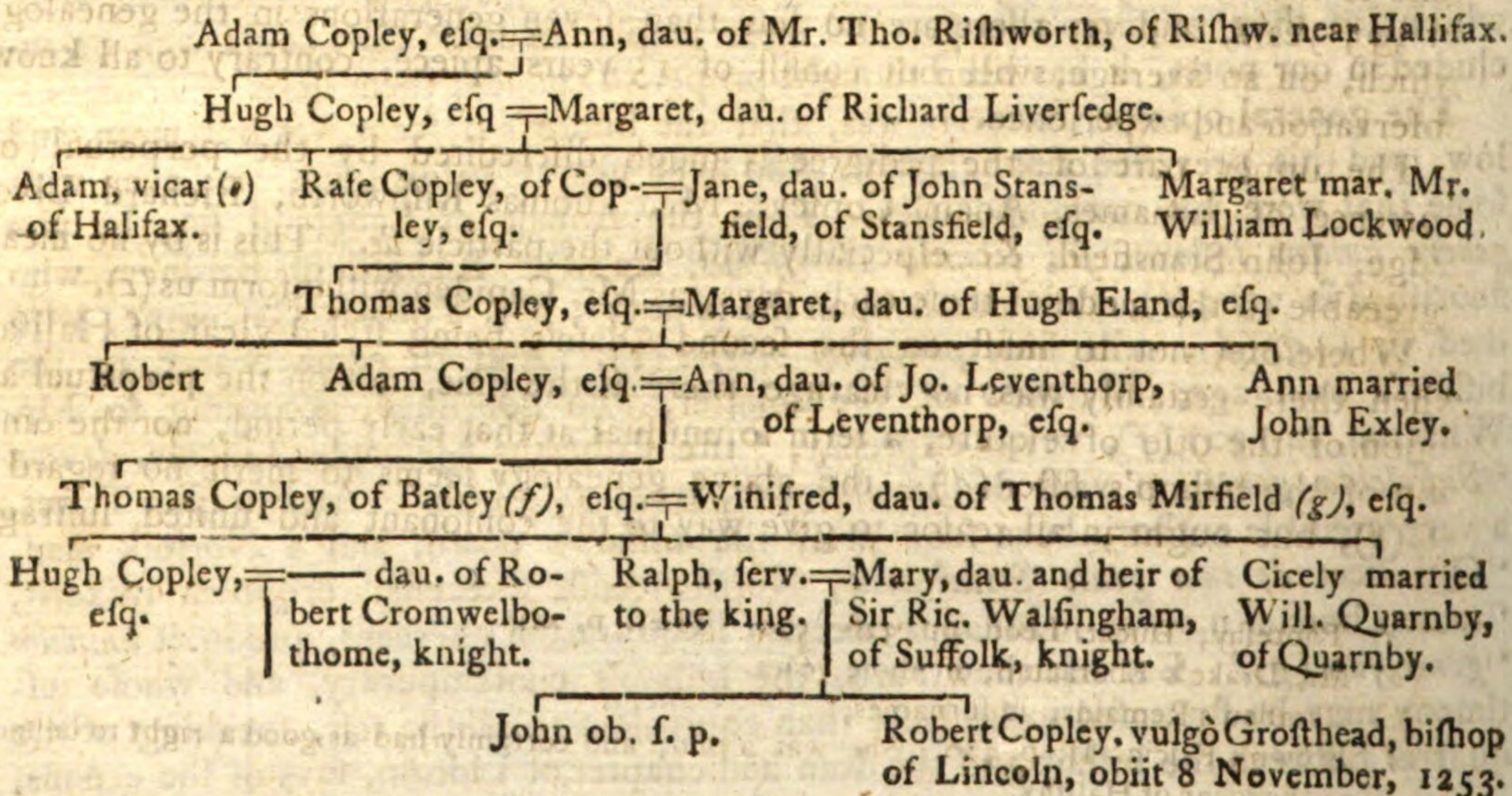
(e) Ibidem, p. 345. See also bishop Godwyn, p. 289. Matth. Parker, p. 485.

(f) Wharton, Ang. Sac. tom. I. Præf. p. 32.

(g) Nic. Triveti Annales, p. 204. This author died in 1328, *septuagenarius*. Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 723. So that he was born in 1260, or before.

‘ Et poenituit graviter super se talem Episcopum *de tam humili* creasse, et hoc publice coram ipso eodem Episcopo protestabantur (a).’

But notwithstanding all this evidence, the notion of the bishop's low and obscure birth has of late been controverted by an antiquary of some note, Mr. Ralph Thoresby of Leeds, who, in the *Ducatus Leodiensis*, has inserted the pedigree of the family of Copley, ‘ purposely to vindicate the memory of one of the most celebrated prelates, and the most pious, that ever this nation boasted of, before the Reformation; I mean the famous Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, who is said, by one of the same order, to be born in Suffolk, *of very mean, or rather of base, parentage* (b); whereas it will from this pedigree (which goes as high as the Norman Advent) appear, that he was of the ancient families of the Copleys, of Copley and Batley, in this neighbourhood, by the father's side; and of a knight's family in Suffolk by the mother's. The arms are Argent, a cross moline Sable (c).’ To enable the reader to judge of the strength, or rather the weakness, of this remonstrance, so favourably received by Dr. Browne Willis, that he has adopted it without scruple into his account of our prelate (d), I must here report so much of the pedigree of Copley as relates to this matter.



(a) Matthew Paris, p. 485.

(b) Godwyn's Catalogue of Bishops of Lincoln, p. 298.

(c) Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, pp. 9, 106. Dr. Browne Willis, p. 51, omits the colour of the cross.

(d) Dr. Browne Willis, p. 51. See also Wright's Halifax, p. 139.

(e) Rather *rector*—a second son of Hugh and Margaret was *Richard*. MS. note in Thoresby cited by Mr. Watton (Halifax, p. 284.); who does not here even reckon the bishop among the natives of Halifax.

(f) Of Copley. Collect, of Genealogies among A. Wood's MSS.

(g) Robert de Merfield, esq. Ibidem.

The authority given us for this genealogy goes thus: 'The pedigree is from Mr. Hopkinson's MS. collated with another in large folio, with the arms painted, penes Geo. Plaxton, rector of Berwick, from Sir Adam, slain at the siege of York, p. 12. to the first Edward Copley, p. 18;' but, when we come to examine into the validity of this evidence, it will be found to be really very little. Mr. Hopkinson's MS. is no older than 1666 (a), and I find, upon enquiry, is of small estimation amongst the gentlemen of the county of York. Mr. Plaxton's book, it seems, included the first Edward Copley, mentioned in the lower part of the pedigree, who was contemporary with John lord Savile, of Pomfret; for Edward's son, Alveroy, married the daughter of that lord created a baron but 4 Car. I. This book consequently, with the printed arms, carries no weight.

But these MSS, though of a later date, might be transcribed, it may be alleged, as to the upper part of the pedigree, from ancient evidences; I therefore remark, secondly, that the siege of York, wherein Adam Copley, or Sir Adam as he is called in Mr. Plaxton's book, was slain, happened in 1069 or 1070 (b), from which time to the birth of bishop Grosseteste, about 1175, there intervenes but the space of 105 years, and yet there are no less than seven generations in the genealogy, which, on an average, will but consist of 15 years apiece, contrary to all known observation and experience.

The upper part of the pedigree is much discredited by the perpetual occurrence of surnames, Adam Copley, Mr. Thomas Rishworth, Richard Liverfedge, John Stansfield, &c. especially without the particle *de*. This is by no means agreeable to the mode of those early days, as Mr. Camden will inform us (c).

Wherefore, not to insist on the second Adam's being styled vicar of Halifax, when there certainly was no vicarage there at the time, nor on the perpetual addition of the title of esquire, a term so unusual at that early period, nor the omission of the bishop's sister (d); the above genealogy seems to merit no regard at all (e), but ought in all reason to give way to the consonant and united suffrages

(a) Thoresby, Ducat. Leod. pp. 326. 570. Præf. p. xvi.

(b) Mr. Drake's Eboracum, in those years.

(c) Camden's Remains, in surnames,

(d) Brown's Fascic. II. p. 310. She was a nun, and certainly had as good a right to be mentioned as the vicar of Halifax.

(e) It appears to me, that the surmise and imagination of these heralds, about the bishop's being of the Copley family, were chiefly grounded on similitude of arms, the cross moline being either found or supposed to belong both to Copley and him; and yet it should not be omitted, that Mr. Collier, (Eccles. Hist. I. p. 462,) says, 'The author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* reports him honourably descended, and appeals to a pedigree for proof,' citing 'Antiquit. Brit. in S. Edm. p. 168,' by which I should suppose archbishop Parker's book is intended, and yet I find no such passage in his Life of St. Edmund; on the contrary, he expressly writes there, p. 255, concerning our prelate; 'Vir humili quidam stirpe fatus, sed virtute, prudentia, doctrinaque insignis.' I can say no more to this passage in Mr. Collier, till his authority for it is found, but that in a Collection of Genealogies, by A. Wood, in the Ashmolean Museum, a genealogy correspondent with that of Mr. Hopkinson occurs.

of the more ancient and contemporary writers, as stated above (a); and the rather, as their joint and unvarying evidence is so admirably corroborated by the conversation related by the Annalist of Lanercost. The earl of Gloucester, Richard de Clare (b), making the bishop a visit at his palace, was entertained by him not only in a splendid and magnificent, but also in the politest and most courtly manner; the earl particularly noticed this last, and, struck with surprize at this genteel reception, and such unexpected address in a severe student, he afterwards, in the freedom of conversation, entered into discourse with the bishop upon that head; expressing his wonder, after a proper preamble, that he, who was always said to be of a mean and ordinary lineage, should acquit himself so elegantly (c) on all occasions, as to have the politeness of his behaviour remarked by the lay-lords. Very true, my lord, replied the bishop, my descent is but mean; but, nevertheless, I have been educated from my youth amongst the brightest exemplars, and the principal characters of the world. The earl was still more astonished on hearing him say this, and desired an explanation. His answer was, that from his beginning to read the scriptures, he found those, who, from the first original of things to the present time, being prudent, modest, liberal, chaste, and endowed with every other virtue, were able to instruct him by their carriage and manners no less than if he had seen and conversed with them, and that he had always endeavoured to assimilate himself to those models (d). I am of opinion, that those words of Nicolas Trivet, above quoted, ‘tamen bonam naturæ indolem præceptis Scripturarum ex-ercens, produxit animum generosum,’ allude to this refinement of the bishop’s manners by reading the Scriptures, as here professed; and it is certain, that civility and propriety of behaviour, which depend much on the frame of the mind, modesty, humility, and the other amiable and social virtues, may be very profitably learnt both from the documents and the patterns exhibited in Holy Writ. This has been fully made to appear by Dr. Delany, in that agreeable descant he has made on the polite reception given by the patriarch Abraham to the three angels, when on their way to Sodom (e), and by the Commentators on St. Paul’s Epistle to Philemon.

But, though the bishop’s parents were but obscure, yet they were honest persons; the ancients, at least, never insinuating any thing to the contrary. Bishop Godwyn,

(a) Indeed, supposing this genealogy to be true, it seems to prove no more than that in the 12th century the *Copleys* themselves were but in a mean condition of life. Mr. Collier observes, that the family must have been now decayed.

(b) This earl had married Matilda, a daughter of John Lacy earl of Lincoln, with whose family bishop Grosseteste had particular intimacy. See ad A. 1240, 1241; but John de Athon, canon of Lincoln, in 1343, who was as likely to know the truth as any body, ascribes the following conversation to the king and the bishop. See him on Constitut. Othoboni, p. 122, but it comes to the same thing; the words of the Annals being *simplici progenie*, and in Athon, *de simplicibus*.

(c) Annal. Lanercost, p. 342.

(d) Dr. Delany’s Revelation examined, II. 204—207.

(e) *Ita faceret*. M. Paris, p. 416, uses it in the same sense; also pp. 835, 859, 778.

therefore, had no reason for aspersing him upon this head, by his expression, *natalibus pudendis*, intimating, as Dr. Fuller observes, a suspicion of bastardy. Richard of Bardney, indeed, never mentions his father, but only his mother; but that is accidental, owing to his manner of writing in verse, whereby, as there was no particular concerning the bishop's father worth noticing by a poet, as neither miracle, nor prodigy, nor presage, such as happened in regard to the mother, he had no occasion or inducement to name him. I observe in the last place, that Mr. Thoresby's attempt to aggrandize, as he fancied, the descent of our prelate, is but a misplaced effort of his zeal; for though a narrow fortune has, in a general way, many difficulties and discouragements to encounter (*a*), yet strong natural parts, improved by study and application, will often break through all obstacles, and take the lead of others who, in the eye of the world, are thought to be better born. And when this is the case, the more exalted, and the more to be admired, is the merit of the party.

I go next on the subject of the bishop's country, a matter which will prove of shorter disquisition. Mr. Thoresby does not express it in so many words, but he seems to insinuate a claim, nevertheless, in favour of the county of York. But Nicolas Trivet, and Matthew of Westminster, who both of them lived in the same century with the bishop, agree in reporting him as born in Suffolk, the latter specifying the very place, Strodbroke, or Stradbrook, in that county. The historians are not unwillingly followed in this by our best antiquaries, John Leland, John Bale, bishop Godwyn, &c. so that this matter may be safely rested here, in respect to Mr. Thoresby (*b*). And it is certainly very possible, especially if you respect the arms, that a younger branch of the Yorkshire Copley family might be seated in Suffolk; the bishop's father, for example, who married, as it is asserted, the daughter and heir of a knight of that country. Knighthood, at that time, did not imply much estate; and if the bishop's father afterwards proved a spendthrift, his parents might become low and mean enough, and so the discordant authors be reconciled, as to this point.

The same answer may serve for Richard of Bardney, who contends, but stands singly in the notion (*c*), and is but a late writer, that the bishop was born at Stow, an ancient village near Lincoln (*d*). I shall embrace the opportunity, however,

(*a*) *Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat*

Res angusta domi.

JUVENAL.

(*b*) And indeed his genealogists make the bishop's mother to be a Suffolk woman.

(*c*) Anth. a Wood, *Ath. Oxon* I. p. 5; and see his *History and Antiquities*, p. 81.

(*d*) And hence, as likewise because this author supposes the bishop to have been educated in the school at Lincoln, he calls Lincoln his *mother*, p. 333. There is a singular passage in a letter of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, *Anglia Sacra*, II. p. 343, '*Quem primitus filium et post patrem ipsius [Linc.] Ecclesie Patrona edidit Virgo Mater.*' The cathedral of Lincoln is sacred to the Virgin Mary; but there is no necessity of thinking the bishop was born at Lincoln from this passage, since he might be esteemed a *son* of that church, on account of his prebend and archdeaconry. See before, p. 8.

of adding a word concerning this Richard de Bardney (a). He was a Benedictine monk of Bardney abbey, near Lincoln, whence he took his name (b). Bishop Groffesteste was thought by the monks of Bardney to be very harsh and severe with them, *as will be related in its proper place*, but Richard, living long after these times, and, when all former animosities had subsided and were in a manner forgotten, became wonderfully enamoured of our prelate, and wrote his life in hexameter and pentameter verse, in 1503 (c), dedicating it to the then bishop of Lincoln, Dr. William Smith. The character Mr. Wharton gives this performance, though so depreciating, is no more than just, 'Roberti Groffhed, præsulis maximi, vitam tanto viro non indignam obtinere valde cupiebam; non aliam autem invenire potui quam hanc Ricardi salebrosam, inelegantem, nonnullibi etiam insulsam, luce plane indignam, nisi egregiâ argumenti dignitate commendaretur (d).' It abounds with idle legendary tales, false metre, and uncouth verse, and, what is worse, little or no notice is there taken of the striking and more principal passages of the bishop's life. However, Mr. Wharton finding a copy of the work in the library of the church of Westminster, thought fit, after curtailing it, and expunging the more obnoxious and superfluous paragraphs, to print it, for want of a better author on a subject so interesting and important. This author, it seems, was a bachelor of divinity, and wrote also in the same kind of metre the History of St. Hugh, the Boy, which is still extant.

The year of the bishop's birth, lastly, can now be no otherwise attained than by conjecture. William de Vere, bishop of Hereford, who died in 1119, took Robert into his family, and Giraldus Cambrensis wrote a commendatory letter to that prelate in favour of Robert, upon the occasion; and not only speaks of his *then known merits*, but also styles him *Magister Robertus Groffesteste* (e), a term which implies a regent in arts (f), so that Robert could not then be less than twenty-four years of age, and consequently carries back the year of his nativity to 1175, or thereabouts, long before the reign of king John, when the editor of the book *de Cessatione Legalium* thinks he was born. Robert, on the footing of this calculation, would be seventy-eight when he died, in 1253, which comports very well with the words of Innocent IV. who called him that very year *senex delirus, surdus, et absurdus* (g), and those of Roger Bacon, where he mentions the *length of his life* (h).

(a) Bishop Tanner erroneously calls him *Robert*. Biblioth. p. 351.

(b) Perhaps his family name was Moley; for, Richard Moley signs the surrender of that house. Dr. Browne Willis's Mitred Abbeyes, I. p. 54, of the Emendations.

(c) See the conclusion of the work.

(d) Wharton, Præf. ad Ang. Sac. p. 17. Yet Mr. Wood says Richard was a person of note in his order. Ath. Ox. I. p. 5.

(e) Giraldus Camb. in Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 344.

(f) See the Life of Hugh, the Burgundian, and the note there.

(g) Matthew Paris, p. 872.

(h) Roger Bacon in Wood, p. 82, and in Leland's Collectanea, III. pp. 334, 335.

A P P E N D I X, N° III.

On GROSSETESTE'S Skill in Medicine.

The bishop was particularly intimate with Nicolas de Fernham, and John de St. Giles, the most celebrated practitioners of the time. Nicolas was in fact the *Archiatr*, and was absolutely induced and persuaded by our prelate to accept of the see of Durham (a). And no man enjoyed more of Grosteste's confidence, excepting, perhaps, Adam de Marisco, than St. Giles (b), who was amongst the most eminent of his profession, both abroad and at home, and seems to have continued his practice to the very last. At least we are informed by M. Paris, that he attended the bishop in his last illness in 1253. But, to go upon something more direct. Richard de Bardney bestows many lines in celebrating the bishop's knowledge in certain matters respecting the science of medicine; his acquaintance with the whole *Materia Medica* (c); his inventing of charms (d); his contriving of *Formulae* for exorcising evil spirits (e); with certain talismanical characters to be inscribed on gems (f); and then he concludes,

Utilis Anglorum fuit ista scientia genti.

Oporcista fuit; perficit inde bonum.

This term *oporcista* is novel, and not easily to be met with elsewhere, I shall offer a conjectural explanation. We read in Pliny (g), of a medicine called *oporice*, ὀπωρικὴ, made of certain fruits, whence Richard, perhaps, may have formed *oporicista*, contracted into *oporcista*. If this does not please, quære, if it may not be miswritten for *Eporcista*, from ἐπορχίσω, one that invokes the aid of a dæmon, as *exorcista* is a per-

(a) See below. *xi. l. v.*

(b) See below. *xi. l. vi.*

(c) Quicquid in arboribus, virgultis, floribus, herbis,
Seminibusque latet præcinit iste studens.

(d) Invenit voces, quibus allevare solebat
Ægrorum morbos —

(e) Obvia Spiritibus, invenit verba malignis.

(f) Deque characteribus fuit author quos prætiosiss
Inscripsit gemmis, mira potenter agens.

(g) Plin. N. H. xxiv. 14.

son that expels them; for, Robert, according to this author, made use of the agency of such a spirit in the shape of an horse called *Beal*, when he went in one night from England to Rome (*a*).

There is but little force in these arguments; for, though the practice of physic was at this time chiefly, if not altogether, lodged in the hands of ecclesiastics, as we are willing to acknowledge, yet it does not follow that Grosseteste was one of those medical clerks, notwithstanding his intimacy with Nicolas de Fernham and John de St. Giles. And as to Bardney's testimony, he writes so evidently with a design of aggrandizing his hero, at any rate, that one knows not how to rely on his poetical vagaries. I should therefore think this matter extremely problematical, if Giraldus Cambrensis had not said to the bishop of Hereford, that Robert would be useful to him, 'tam in negotiis vestris variis et causarum decisionibus, quam in *corporis vestri conferendæ sanitatis et conservandæ curis*.' And the bishop, amongst his numerous productions, had not treated of *Ars Medicinalis* in the *Compendium Scientiarum* (*b*). The bishop, moreover, must be considered as an astronomer, and the Arabians, from whom the study of Physic came chiefly to us, always connected this last with the science of Astronomy and Astrology, whence Chaucer makes his Doctor of Physick to be *groundid in Astronomie* (*c*). But after all, as the knowledge of medicine was but very superficial at this time, and the bishop laid out his time so much on other subjects, he could have but a slender acquaintance with it (*d*).

(*a*) See Appendix, N° IV.

(*b*) See his works in Opusc. Philosoph. inedita.

(*c*) Urry, p. 4. See Mr. Warton, p. 439.

(*d*) His lordship's frivolous distinction concerning the blood occurs in 1247, p. 160, 161.

A P P E N D I X, N° IV.

On the Brazen Head, the Infernal Horse, &c.

Gabriel Naudæus has shewn to satisfaction, that in the darker ages an extraordinary genius, or a person of recondite learning, who penetrated into the depths of philosophy beyond the common scantling of the times, scarce ever arose, without being charged with magic and conjuration (*a*). As to the present case, wherein the pious bishop Grosseteste is more immediately concerned, John Gower (*b*), and the rest that mention a brazen head, as fabricated by the bishop in his younger years, seem to have applied to him what, according to the vulgar notion, belongs more properly to Roger Bacon the Franciscan Friar (*c*). Gower's lines are,

“ For of the great clerk *Groſteſt*,
I red how redy that he was
Upon clergy (*d*) an hede (*e*) of brasse
To make, and forge it for to tell
Of such things as befell (*f*),

(*a*) To Naudæus add Wood, p. 82, where Gefner also says Grosseteste wrote one book on Astrology, and one on Necromancy and Witchcraft. Also p. 79. Pliny, N. H. xviii. 6. tells a pleasant story of E. Furius Creſſinus, a farmer, who was charged with forcery for having better crops than his neighbours. C. Agrippa names Groſthead among those great men who were addicted to natural magic, cap. xlv. and calls him *Robertus Anglicus*.

(*b*) Gower de Confess. Amantis, fol. lxxiii. edit. 1554.

(*c*) So Anth. a Wood, ‘Baconi autem ut plurimum affuitur fabula de capite nescio quo æneo.’ Hist. & Antiq. p. 82. The like enterprize was also ascribed to Gerebert. Ibid. See more of these brazen artificial heads and compositions in Mr. Warton’s History of English Poetry, p. 400, seq. and in Collier, Dict. v. Albertus M. Cervantes has introduced one made by a Polander, a disciple of Scotus, and consulted by Don Quixote.

(*d*) By his learning. The word occurs in this sense in *Piers Plowman*, who, speaking of human learning, says, it was but a trifle, as to the clergy of Christ. Passus 12, and p. 32. Fox, Martyrol. p. 812, &c. Gower, lxxiii xciv. Caxton, Myrrour. p. 5, 6. Ames, pp. 15, 17, 42. Hampole, MS. Linc. pp. 262, 286. It is from the French. Robert Bourron in Merlino. *Li Clerc servant mout par force de Clergie que autre gent ne fairoient mie.* Clerkois in an old MS. cited by Du Cange, v. Clerici, is put for Latin. *in this sense we now say, a man has 7 Benefits of his clergy.*

(*e*) Head.

(*f*) Id est, as should befall. Our old English poets are continually changing moods, tenſes, and voices, for the sake of rhyme.

And seven yeres byfiness
 He layd, but for the lackneffe (a)
 Of halfe a minute of an houre
 Fro first that he began labour
 He lost all that he had doe (b)."

Where it is supposed to have been seven years about, but through the neglect of half a minute miscarried; it was intended, had it been perfected, to have been a speaking head, to have discovered lost goods (for so I understand the fourth and fifth line) and to foretell things to come.

Richard of Bardney adds, concerning this curious magical head, that the bishop composed it when he was master of arts, that it actually spoke on Saturdays, for the correction of errors, and the giving of counsel in doubtful cases. But that, by a terrible misfortune, it fell down one day as it was setting up, and broke all to pieces; the pieces, as the common people said, were preserved in a vault at Lincoln (c). This author, you observe, goes a great deal farther than Gower did; for, the bishop, according to him, actually completed his work, which indeed redounds more to the honour of his saint and hero; and he says, that it was on occasion of the above unhappy accident that the bishop deserted such curious arts, and turned his thoughts upon divinity.

But Bardney furnishes us with a notable instance of the bishop's supposed skill in necromancy, or, in other words, his dealing with the devil; this is, his making a journey from England to Rome in one night's time, by means of an infernal horse (d), of which he had obtained the command. It is a most ridiculous story; if possible, more absurd than the former, but as it may serve to amuse some sort of readers, I shall here insert it in few words. The bishop of Salisbury had promised the pope to officiate at Rome on St. Peter's day. He did not forget his engagement, but being old and infirm could not perform it (e). In this dilemma he

(a) There is no such word as *lacknefs*. I know not what edition of Gower Mr. Wood used, but in mine by Berthelette, in 1554, the reading is, fol. lxiii.

————— but for the lacheffe

Of halfe a minute of an houre;

and this is the true reading; for, the poet is there giving instances of the mischiefs and inconveniences of negligence and slipping of opportunities, which is the sense of the word *Lacheffe*, as it is now used in law, where it always refers to time; the same appears from the preceding part of Gower's fourth book, and from Hampole, in MS. Lincoln, p. 179.

(b) Done. Ames, Typogr. Antiq. p. 18. Macchabree, fol. 12.

(c) In voltâ.

(d) A horse of brass, of wonderful velocity, was presented to Cambuscan. Warton, History of English Poetry, p. 398, seq. 400, seq. and see more of other like horses, p. 415. Blainville mentions a wonderful jumping mule, blessed for the purpose by a saint, vol. II. p. 318.

(e) Sic ait, *ac meminit senio confectus et æger*. So I read instead of *nec meminit*. In a more correct author I should say the metre required this emendation, but Richard is too negligent of measure for one to argue from that topic. He makes *it*, and *at*, and *ur*, long before a vowel, *ad libitum*.

sent for Grosseste but the day before he was to appear at Rome, and he undertakes the service, bidding him be of good courage ;

Ne timeas, O Præful, ait ; vos arbiter alti

Consilii mecum concomitatur iter.

But as there is no understanding this we ought to read

————— *equus arbiter alti*

Consilii ———

for we are not to regard the false quantity arising from this emendation (a), since it is plain he intended to speak of some *horse*, as it follows,

Quomodo nescitur aut qualiter, iste Robertus

Ad talem cursum prospere frenat *equum*.

This horse was a dæmon, and his proper name was *Beal* (b),

Procedunt comites, clericus, atque *Beal*.

And he afterwards uses the very word *arbiter* concerning him ; for, when they were got on high, he says,

Altius aggreditur spatium, quo splendor et ignis

Jura tenent celsis ; *arbiter* implet opus.

And so, when they arrived at the regions of pure light above the planets, he makes the horse speak to his rider by that name,

————— *Arbiter ille fremit ;*

Sessori loquitur—

And, when the journey is finished, Robert sends his dæmon back again to the shades below, in the shape of a horse,

— *Ad manes currere cogit equum.*

In their progress they came to the sun ; and then the poet makes them approach the planets one after another, but manages this matter very unskilfully ; for, how great an astronomer soever the bishop himself might be, his poet is but a bad one. One place, however, in Mr. Wharton's edition, may be amended ; it is where he says,

Tandem cautelæ studio regione potitur,

Quam Venus et Stibion oscula dando colunt.

where by *Stibion* he means Mercury, whose planet being called by authors *Stilbon* (c), we ought to read so in this place. To make an end of this silly affair ; when they were come, as I said, to the regions of pure light, above all the planets, the horse speaks to his rider, and says,

————— *benedic tibi, vel morieris.*

Ad mare submersus imprime signa tua.

he means, *make the sign of the cross, or, cross yourself*, but the words should be pointed thus,

————— *benedic tibi, vel morieris*

Ad mare submersus ; imprime signa tua.

(a) See the preceding note.

(b) Q. *Baal*, a name often applied to the devil or any evil spirit, and hence, probably, the name of *Bail*, so commonly given to *black* horses.

(c) Plutarch. de Placit. Philosoph.

But the bishop tells him in answer, that crosses were things foreign to these works of darkness,

Vade, Beal, ait iste *studens*, iter istud in ævum

Talia signa timet; siste gradum, jubeo.

On which the horse descends, the bishop alights, performs the duty, and then returns to the bishop of Sarum, who was very desirous of keeping him with him; but Robert declining that, the bishop rewards and dismisses him. However, one of the bishops of Salisbury made Grostest archdeacon of Wilts, as will be noted below (a). In the mean time how strange it is, that this ill-employed monk of Bardney should have no more sense than to give credit to these vulgar romantic stories (better befitting the pen of Lud. Ariosto or Cervantes) (b), concerning one of the best and greatest prelates of the diocese to which he belonged, and whom the whole kingdom of England, in a manner, had a desire of seeing canonized for a saint; however, we read something like it in the story of St. Antidius, who made the devil carry him on his back to Rome, and back again

There are some other legendary tales concerning the bishop, which it may not be improper to bring together in this place; as some people, though far enough from giving any credit to them, may, nevertheless be curious to know what vulgar reports have been formerly current in the world concerning him.

Fulk Basslet, bishop of London, heard a certain sweet bell sounding high in the air the night bishop Grosteteste died, being then near Buckden; and he asked his attendants if they heard what he did? They asked what he heard; he told them (c), and added, 'By St. Paul, I am of opinion my brother, the venerable bishop of Lincoln, passing out of this world, is now placed in the heavenly region, and the bell is a token of it; for, there is no abbey near, where any such great bell can be; let us enquire.' They did so, and found, from the information of bishop Grosteteste's family, that his lordship died at the same hour. Fulk spoke publicly of this miracle; and John Crachele, a respectable man, and an intimate clerk of his, informed Matthew Paris of it (d).

The same night some Franciscans (e) travelling towards Buckden, when they were in the forest of Wantage (f) lost their way, but heard a most melodious chiming of bells, and, amongst the rest, one of a most charming note, sounding very distinctly and regularly (g). This excited their wonder much, as they were not near any great church. In the morning they met some foresters, and one of

(a) Robert was undoubtedly archdeacon of Wilts.

(b) Who has introduced *Clavilen*, a wooden horse, travelling through the air by the direction of a wooden peg in his head, but really by gunpowder.

(c) He described it as a great bell, like one belonging to a monastery, but more than human, sweet, and rings very regularly.

(d) M. Paris, p. 876.

(e) Mr. Brown, p. 406, says, by mistake, they were of both orders.

(f) Now Waybridge, in the county of Huntingdon.

(g) Venerable Bede, who abounds with legends, relates a like story concerning St. Chad, p. 144. See also legend of St. Cuthbert, Lond. 1663, concerning Aidan, first bishop of Lindisfarne.

their company, after enquiring the way, asked them, what that very solemn chiming, which was heard towards Buckden, meant? They said, they had heard nothing, nor then heard, though the chiming still continued. The friars wondered the more at this; but, when they reached Buckden, they were told the bishop had departed this life at the very time they heard the melody (a).

It is related again, that the night after pope Innocent had given orders for a letter to be written to king Henry III. to take up the bones of bishop Grosseteste, and cast them out of the church of Lincoln, the bishop's ghost, dressed in *pantificalibus*, appeared to his holiness as he lay restless and waking in bed, and with a stern countenance and terrible voice said to him, striking the point of the pastoral staff, which he had in his hand, at the same time into his side (b); 'Senebald, miserable wretch, do you design to throw my bones, to the dishonour of me and the church of Lincoln, out of the church? Whence can such rashness come into thy mind? It would be more fitting that thou, whom God hath raised to such an high station in his church, shouldst endeavour to do honour to his zealous servants after death. The Lord will never suffer thee to have any power over me from this day forward. I wrote my letter to thee in the spirit of meekness and love, in order to induce thee to amend thy ways, but thou set at nought my salutary advice with a fastidious eye and a depraved heart. Woe unto thee, who thus despises me; shall not thou also be despised?' So the spectre withdrew, leaving the pope half dead, groaning with the anguish of the wound he had received in his side, which was just as if he had been pierced with a lance, and sighing and crying out lamentably; which when his attendants heard, they asked with astonishment the meaning of all this; he replied, with groans and sighs, 'The terrors of the night have much disturbed me, and I shall never be myself again. Oh, my side! how it pains me. I have been struck with a lance by a spirit.' He neither ate nor drank next day, pretending to be ill of a fever; and yet the vengeance of God had not done with him (c). The pope afterwards set out for Naples, with what was called a pleurisy in his side; neither could cardinal *Albus* (d), his physician, relieve him; he never after had a good day, nor quiet night, but died at Naples, December 7, 1254, under a double affliction, from the stroke of bishop Grosseteste, which brought on an incurable pleurisy, and the discomfiture of his army by Conrad his enemy (e).

It happened also, says M. Paris, that the week pope Innocent died, a certain cardinal (f) had a vision in the night. He thought himself in Heaven, where our

(a) M. Paris, p. 877.

(b) Thus, the legendists tell us, king Sweyn was killed, *pugione St. Edmundi*, on account of the ravages he had committed at St. Edmundsbury. Rossus, p. 103.

(c) M. Paris, p. 883. The story is also related by H. Knighton, in X. Script. col. 2436, but with some variation. See Brown, p. 408.

(d) See of him, M. Paris, pp. 925, 842; whence it appears he was called *Johannes Anglicus*. See Godwyn, p. 787.

(e) M. Paris, p. 884.

(f) An hermit and two cardinals. Dr. Thomas Gascoigne in Wood, p. 83.

Saviour was sitting on his throne; on the right hand stood his mother, on his left a certain venerable matron, who, extending her left arm, carried upon her hand a kind of temple, on the front of which was written in golden letters, *The Church*. Innocent IV. appeared before the divine Majesty, and, with joined and uplifted hands, on his knees begged for mercy, instead of justice and judgement, but the noble matron called out for judgement, saying, she accused him upon three points: First, That whereas he [Christ] had founded a church on earth, free, and distinguished with liberties, this man hath made it a bond-woman: Secondly, the church was intended to be a refuge for sinners, for the salvation of miserable souls, but this criminal hath converted it into a table of money-changers: Thirdly, It was established on the foundation of faith, justice, and truth, but this fellow hath undermined the faith, and debauched men's manners; hath perverted justice, hath darkened and suppressed the truth. I demand therefore justice against him. And the Lord said to Innocent, Be gone, and receive thy deserts; and so he was hurried off. The observation of Matthew upon this dream or vision is, that hence we may remark, that Innocent was in less reputation of sanctity than our excommunicated prelate (a).

To the foregoing may be annexed the strange interpretation which our bishop is made to put on the reveries of a dying youth; pretending, from his great sagacity, that his incoherencies were the words he was reading in the Book of Life (b). One of his lordship's prophecies I shall here mention under the year 1238; but *have* another prediction of his may be more properly recited here. He is said to have laid his hand on the head of the eldest son of Simon Montfort, and to have pronounced, 'O, my dear son, both you and your father will die on one day, and by the same kind of death, but in the cause of justice and truth (c).' And 'Inter MSS Digb. in Bibl. Bodl. p. 196. extat Prophetia Roberti Grossthead. Pr. *Ex-ternis populis dominabitur* (d),' which I suppose must be of the same texture and authority as those above.

I suppose a good staunch Catholic may believe all these tales (e), with all the miracles attributed to our bishop by Richard de Bardney and others (f); for, say they, in respect of M. Paris, why do you believe this author in some things, and not in all? But, as Mr. Brown well observes, the authority of an historian is not destroyed, as to other particulars, by his reporting, upon the relation and credit of others, some false or uncertain facts (g). M. Paris is doubtless a most valuable author, but learned men *have*, nevertheless, sometimes found reason to desert him in some points, as we have done in respect of his partiality to

(a) M. Paris, p. 897.

(b) Wharton, p. 342.

(c) M. Paris, p. 998.

(d) Tanner, p. 350. Quære if this be not a sermon on Joel II. 17.

(e) That also of the sanative oil issuing from the bishop's tomb. See the year 1253.

(f) Vide ad An. 1253.

(g) Brown's Fascic. II. pp. 398, 406. Rollin, Belles Letters, III. pp. 200, 256.

his brethren the monks, and, therefore, though he may be rash in pronouncing on God's judgements, credulous in respect of miracles and legends, and err, perhaps, in judging, his credit will still be safe and unimpeached as to other matters. As for the Papists, if they will receive the legends respecting bishop Groffeteste in part, they ought to admit them all, upon their own principle, and amongst them those concerning pope Innocent, though they tend so much to the dishonour of his holiness.



A P P E N D I X, N° V.

ARTICLES of ENQUIRY in the VISITATION Anno 1236.

ANNAL. BURTON, p. 317 (a).

1. De vita Archidiaconi et suæ familiæ.
2. De decanis (b), qualiter se habeant in officiis suis.
3. An aliquis laicus teneat ecclesiam ad firmam, vel possideat decimas.
4. An rectores vel vicarii ecclesiarum vel capellani qualitercunque ministrantes, vel constituti infra sacros ordines, sint incontinentes, et cum quibus commiserint incontinentiam.
5. An fortilegia (c) fiant in parochiis.
6. An aliqui beneficiati, vel infra sacros ordinis constituti, sint uxorati.
7. An aliqui clerici frequentant ecclesias monialium sine rationabili causa.
8. An aliquis clericus infra sacros ordines constitutus teneat aliquam mulierem sive cognatam, vel aliquam aliam de qua oritur mala suspicio (d).
9. An aliqui clerici, seu capellani, sint frequentantes tabernas (e), negotiatores, usurarii, pugnatore, vel exercentes mercata (f), in habitu penitus indecenti.

(a) These articles of visitatorial enquiry are not the first on record, for Hugh de Welles issued a like set of articles in 1230, for the use of his archdeacons. Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 627, who adopts them from Sir H. Spelman, II. p. 192. Mr. Prynne, indeed, History of Henry III. p. 101. 6. fixes them to 31 Henry III. or 1247, and ascribes them to bishop Grosseteste, but in that I presume he is mistaken. A translation of these articles of Grosseteste in 1236, which are grounded chiefly on the canons, is inserted in the Memoirs of Roger de Weseham, p. 34, seq. and to judge from the first article, one would suppose the enquiries were directed to the laity, i. e. the churchwardens.

(b) Rural deans.

(c) Witchcraft or sorcery. See Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 662.

(d) The bishops were directed by Otto to be strict in their enquiries about the matter of concubinage. M. Paris, p. 452; and see the 14th article below.

(e) Alehouses.

(f) Exercentes mercata, went to market. So *exercere ecclesiam*. Dugd. Mon. II. p. 654; and *tabernas exercentes* in the next number, Art. 15, and *scholas exercere*. M. Paris, pp. 833. 767. See p. 184, note c.

10. An capellani ordinati ab alienis episcopis sint licentiatī ad celebrandum divina sine licentia episcopi, et a quibus sint licentiatī.
11. An mercata alicubi teneantur diebus dominicis.
12. An diaconi audiant confessiones, vel alia ministrent sacramenta tantum sacerdotibus concessa.
13. An rectores vel vicarii sint residentes.
14. An aliquis clericus teneat in hospitio suo concubinam sacerdotis seu clerici vel laici.
15. An ecclesiæ sint dedicatæ (a).
16. An aliqui sint adepti beneficia per simoniam.
17. An aliqua capella sit de novo erecta, et a dicta capella aliquid sibi vendicetur juris vel libertatis ultra id quod sibi primo fuit concessum (b).
18. An aliqui vicarii se faciant rectores, vel e converso.
19. An aliqui ratione longæ firmæ se faciant rectores, vel vicarios, vel veros possessores aliquarum decimarum (c).
20. An aliqua ecclesia vel vicaria ponatur ad firmam (d).
21. An aliqui se gerant rectores vel vicarios, qui per episcopum, vel per alium potestatem habentem, in eisdem non sunt instituti.
22. An aliqui (e) faciant pactum cum sacerdotibus suis (f), ut præter stipendia certa (g) possint ab alio annualia vel tritennalia (h) recipere.
23. An aliqua libera terra de eleemosyna ecclesiæ laicis tradatur ad firmam (i).
24. An redditus assignati ad luminaria vel alios certos usus ecclesiæ committantur (k) in usus rectorum.
25. An vicariæ sint per episcopum taxatæ.
26. An alicubi compellantur parochiani (l) ut in die Paschæ post missam simul offerant et communicent.
27. An aliquis sacerdos extorqueat pecuniam pro pœnitentia, vel pro aliis sacramentis injungat (m) pœnitentias lucrativas.

(a) A constitution of Otto; and possibly an addition by de Weseham.

(b) See the protest of the dean of Lincoln's proctor, in the case of the chapel of Brampton. *Memoirs of Roger de Weseham*, p. 40.

(c) *M. Paris*, p. 450.

(d) See N^o 23, and *M. Paris*, p. 450.

(e) Meaning *Chaplains*.

(f) *Rectors or vicars*.

(g) So I read, instead of *certo*.

(h) Fees for anniversaries or trentals.

(i) See N^o 20 above.

(k) *Committentur*, in marg. fortè *convertantur*, as in N^o 34.

(l) Sic legend. pro *parochiam*.

(m) *Lego, vel injungat*. The enjoining lucrative penances, as for masses, &c. was a natural consequence of farming churches.

28. An in ecclesiis per honestos clericos deserviat secundum facultates earum (a).

29. An mercata, vel ludi, seu placita secularia, fiant in sacris locis (b).

30. An cæmeteria sint ubique clausa, et ecclesiæ decenter ædificatæ et ornatæ, et vasa sacra ritè custodita.

31. An canon missæ sit ritè correctus.

32. An sacramentum eucharistiæ ubique portetur ad infirmos cum debita reverentia, et sicut decet custodiatur (c).

33. An aliquis sacerdos sit desidiosus ad visitandum infirmos.

34. An aliquis capellanus vel alius convertat chrismalia (d) in usus seculares.

35. An adulteria et alia crimina publica sint alicubi corrigenda.

(a) The number of chaplains and assistants was to be proportioned to the revenues of the church where they served.

(b) Because they were sometimes kept and held in churches and church-yards, though contrary to canon. See N° VI. Art. 30.

(c) In a decent Pix.

(d) Chrism, says Mr. Johnson, was a composition of oil and balsam, blessed by the bishop, to be used in baptism; and the *chrismale* was a linen cloth put on the child's head, that the oil might stay on, and be taken off eight days after.

A P P E N D I X, N° VI.

Constitutiones (a) ejusdem Roberti, Episcopi Lincoln. rectoribus ecclesiarum, vicariis, sacerdotibus parochialibus, ejusdem diœcesis directæ.

BROWN, p. 410, seq.

Debentes de vobis rationem bonam reddere (quæ ratio, secundum Augustinum, est dicere, non tacere; flere cum dicimus et non audimur) sub silentio transire non possumus quæ vobis scire et observare necessarium credimus.

1. Quia igitur sine decalogi observatione salus animarum non consistit, exhortamur in Domino, firmiter injungentes, ut unusquisque pastor animarum et quilibet sacerdos parochialis sciat decalogum, 1. decem mandata legis Mosaicæ; eademque populo sibi subiecto frequenter prædicet et exponat.

2. Sciat quoque quæ sint septem criminalia (b), eademque similiter populo prædicet fugienda.

3. Sciat insuper, saltem simpliciter, septem ecclesiastica sacramenta; et hi qui sunt sacerdotes maximè sciant quæ exiguntur ad veræ confessionis et poenitentiae sacramentum, formamque baptizandi, doceant frequenter laicos in idiomate communi.

4. Habeat quoque quisque eorum, saltem simpliciter, fidei intellectum, sicut continetur in symbolo, tam majori quam minori (c), et in tractatu qui dicitur *Quicumque vult* (d) qui quotidie ad primam (e), in ecclesia psallitur.

(a) These injunctions, constitutions, or *statutes*, are referred to, as I take it, in his lordship's sermon, by the name of *Statuta sacra*, in Brown's Fascic. II. p. 260, and are different from the foregoing *Articles of Enquiry*, which seem to be addressed more to the laity, the church-wardens, &c.

(b) The seven deadly sins.

(c) The Apostles and the Nicene Creed.

(d) The Athanasian Creed.

(e) The Prime, said about sun-rising.

5. Eucharistia autem, quæ sacramentum est dominici corporis, in loco singulari, mundo, et signato (*a*), semper honorificè collocata, devote ac fideliter conservetur.

6. Sacerdos vero quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam ut, cum in celebratione missarum elevatur hostia salutaris, se reverenter inclinet: idem faciens cum eam portet presbyter ad infirmum, quam in decenti habitu, supposito (*b*) mundo velamine, ferat et referat manifeste ac honorifice ante pectus cum reverentia et timore, semper lumine præcedente, cum sit candor lucis æternæ; ut ex hoc apud omnes fides et devotio augeatur, quemadmodum in generali concilio scribitur: tintinnabulum quoque simul cum lumine venerandam corporis Christi hostiam semper precedat, ut ejus sonitu excitetur fidelium devotio ad tanti sacramenti debitam adorationem.

7. Observent etiam sacerdotes cum omni diligentia ne sacra eucharistia per vitium aut diutinam conservationem contraxerit humiditatem seu mucorem, unde reddatur vel turpis aspectui, vel gustui abominabilis.

8. Sacerdotes autem promptissimi sint et paratissimi, non solum diebus sed et noctibus, ut ægrotantes, cum requiruntur, visitent; ne eorum negligentia, quod absit, moriatur infirmus sine confessione aut dominici corporis communicatione, aut unctione extremâ.

9. Superalitaria (*c*) quoque sint honesta et congruentis magnitudinis firmiterque fixa in circumdanti ligno, ut non moveantur ab ipso, neque usurpentur ad alios usus quam ad divinorum celebrationem, ut videlicet non molantur super ea colores, nec aliqua fiant in eis consimilia. Panni etiam chrismales (*d*) in usus seculares non convertantur.

10. In ecclesia quoque divinum officium (*e*) integrè fiat et devotè; ut videlicet lectiones, hymni, psalmi, et alia quæ in Dei laudem recitantur in ecclesiâ, integram habeant verborum prolationem, mentisque ad sensus verborum devotam attentionem; ne, quod absit, pro hostiâ integrâ et vivâ offeratur hostia mutilata vel (*f*) mortua.

11. Omnes quoque pastores animarum et sacerdotes parochiales, finitis in ecclesia divinis officiis, orationi et lectioni sacræ Scripturæ diligenter intendant, ut per Scripturæ intelligentiam, sicut ad eorum pertinet officium, parati sint semper ad satisfactionem omni poscenti rationem de spe et fide (*g*): sintque semper inserti in doctrina et operatione Scripturæ tanquam vectes in annulis arcæ, ut assidua lectione veluti quotidiano cibo alatur et pinguescat oratio.

12. Provideant etiam attentius ecclesiarum rectores et sacerdotes parochiales, ut pueri parochiarum suarum diligenter doceantur, et sciant orationem dominicam, et

(*a*) Locked, or rather holy, as marked with the sign of the cross.

(*b*) f. Superposito.

(*c*) These, I presume, must have been of marble, or some hard stone.

(*d*) Used in Baptism. Du Fresne, v. Chrismale.

(*e*) Servitium. MS. Sidn.

(*f*) Et MS. Sidn.

(*g*) Reddere seems here to be omitted.

symbolum et salutationem beatæ virginis et crucis signaculo se rectè consignare. Et quia, ut audimus, etiam quidam adulti hæc ignorant, præcipimus ut cum laici ad confessionem accedunt, diligenter examinentur, utrum scirent prædicta, et secundum quod expedit in eis a sacerdotibus instruantur.

13. Et quia mundi debent esse, sicut ait Isaias, qui ferunt vasa Domini, pollutumque non tangere, exhortantes præcipimus ut omnes beneficiati, et infra sacros ordines constituti, vitium luxuriæ (*a*), omnemque voluntariam carnis immunditiam fugiant, continentiae servantes puritatem; nullusque eorum uxorem ducat (*b*); et si quis, antequam esset in sacris ordinibus constitutus, uxorem duxerit, beneficium ecclesiasticum non teneat, neque in sacris ordinibus, si eos postea acceperit, ministrare præsumat.

14. Cumque non solum a malo sed ab omni specie mali abstinendum sit, inhibemus firmiter ne clerici sine rationabili et manifesta causa frequentent sanctimonialium monasteria (*c*), et ne quisquam sacerdos retineat fœminam in domo sua, five cognatam, five aliam, unde possit rationabiliter mala de ipso oriri suspicio.

15. Et quia in Levitico dicit Dominus ad Aaronem (*d*), " Vinum et omne quod inebriare potest, non bibas tu et filii tui quando intrabis in tabernaculum testimonii, ne moriamini;" cum Aaron et filii sui sacerdotes veteris legis gerant typum sacerdotum hujus temporis, vinum quoque ac cætera inebriantia typum ebrietatis, sacerdotes quoque die ac nocte (*e*) debeant mystice in tabernaculo manere observantes custodias Domini ne moriantur, sicut in eodem libro scriptum est; firmiter inhibemus ne quicumque beneficiati vel in sacris ordinibus constituti, sint ebriosi seu gulosi aut tabernas exercentes (*f*), ne morte æterna, secundum legis comminationem, moriantur; sed actu abstinentiæ et sobrietatis seipsum reddant habiles ut secundum doctrinam Dei habeant scientiam discernendi inter sacrum et prophanum, inter pollutum et mundum, doceantque populum omnia legitima Domini quæ locutus est per manum Moyfis.

16. Quia etiam Levitis dictum est quod non habebunt partem hæreditatis inter filios Israel, per quod abscinditur a ministris ecclesiæ omnis fomes cupiditatis et turpis lucri, exhortantes firmiter præcipimus ne beneficiati aut sacris ordinibus ornati negotiationes exercent, neque aliquid accommodent ad usuram, sed sicut præcipit doctrina evangelica, mutuum dent nihil inde sperantes, neque dent aut recipiant ecclesias aut ecclesiastica ad firmam, nisi in casibus a conciliis concessis.

17. Ad amputandum quoque omnem cupiditatis speciem, inhibemus firmiter non solum ordinariâ sed speciali auctoritate apostolicâ, ne beneficiati vel ad sacros ordines promoti sint vicecomites vel justitarii seculares (*g*) vel ballivas teneant, unde laicis potestatibus obligentur ad ratiocinia de ballivis eisdem reddenda.

(*a*) Lust. See p. 210, note *c*.

(*b*) The clergy were still very averse to celibacy. See p. 40, and notes.

(*c*) See N° V. art. 7, and Life, p. 43.

(*d*) Levit. x. 9.

(*e*) Levit. viii. 35.

(*f*) Frequenters of taverns or alehouses. See Annot. ad N° V. art. 9.

(*g*) See Life, p. 51.

18. Inhibemus quoque districtius ne aliquis rector ecclesiæ faciat hujusmodi pactum cum suo sacerdote, viz. quod ipse sacerdos præter cætera stipendia poterit recipere annualia et tricennalia (*a*); quia hujusmodi pactio manifestum est iudicium quod sacerdos eo ipso recipit exilius stipendium; necesse quoque est ut aut non perficiat annualia vel tricennalia, aut in ecclesia parochiali non ritè perficiat divina obsequia: ipsis autem sacerdotibus sufficiens et honesta tribuatur sustentatio ab ecclesiarum rectoribus, ne propter diminutam sustentationem oporteat ecclesias divinis obsequiis carere, aut ipsos sacerdotes lucris turpibus inhiare, seu victum mendicare (*b*).

19. Inhibemus etiam firmiter ne laicis quibuscunque committantur ad firmam liberæ terræ de dominiis ecclesiarum, nisi forte iidem laici fuerint earundem ecclesiarum servi; et tunc hoc fiat de licentia diocesani. Et ne rectores vel vicarii de bonis ecclesiæ ædificent in laico feodo extra fundum ecclesiæ; et similiter ne decimæ in laico feodo reponantur, sed in fundo ipsius ecclesiæ.

20. Præcipimus etiam ut redditus, assignati per devotionem laicorum ad luminaria vel ad alios usus honestos in ipsis ecclesiis, non convertantur per ipsos rectores in usus et emolumenta eorundem.

21. Prohibemus quoque firmiter ne die S. Paschæ recipiantur oblationes laicorum post missam quando communicant; quia hoc est cupiditatis manifestum indicium, et devotionis communicantium evidens detrimentum.

22. Hortamur etiam præcipientes ne nimis jocularibus aut histrionibus (*c*) intendant, neque ad aleas seu taxillos ludant aut ludentibus affideant (*d*); quia licet hæc quibusdam videantur levia, tamen, secundum sanctorum patrum doctrinas, qui talia faciunt dæmonibus præstant sacrificia.

23. Et quia in clero nihil debet splendere nisi Jesu Christi humilitas et evangelica perfectio, quæ consulit, quod si quis te percusserit in dextram maxillam, prebeas ei et alteram; monemus præcipientes ne clerici arma portent; sed coronam et tonsuram habeant ordini congruentem, et habitum congruentem tam sibi, quam suis equitaturis (*e*), secundum quod determinant sancta concilia.

24. Præcipimus etiam non solum nostrâ sed speciali auctoritate apostolicâ, ne aliqui retineant plures curas animarum, cum quibus per sedem apostolicam non est super hoc dispensatum; similiter quod filii proximo ministrantium, ecclesias, in quibus immediate successerunt patribus (*f*), penitus resignent, et patroni idoneos ad easdem ecclesias preferrent.

(*a*) See the Glossaries.

(*b*) See particularly, N^o VIII.

(*c*) There were many companies of players in the kingdom. Northumberland Household Book, p. xxii, 340, 351.

(*d*) The general tendency of these injunctions was, to keep the clergy as distinct, and as little connected with the laity, as possible. The first, at the same time, had an eye to the benefit of curates and parochial vicars. See Article 30, 42 below.

(*e*) Horses. See Du Fresne in voce.

(*f*) Argumentum hoc est nondum extincti conjugii sacerdotalis; quicquid a Lanfranco usque, ecclesiæ corruptore, a papalini fuerat attentatum: fundatur autem hæc episcopi constitutio in con-

25. Audimus autem (unde non mediocriter dolemus) quod quidam sacerdotes extorquent pecuniam a laicis pro pœnitentiâ, seu aliis sacris ministrandis, et quod quidam turpis lucri (a) plenas injungunt pœnitentias; quales sunt, quod mulier cognita a viro suo post partum ante purificationem suam deportet deinceps oblationem ad altare cum quâlibet muliere purificandâ in eâdem parochiâ; et quod homicida, vel qui alterius mortem procuravit, offerat pro quolibet mortuo in eâdem parochiâ. Hæc igitur et hujusmodi, quia cupiditate sunt plena, penitus inhibemus; et ne quisquam sacerdos injungat annualia vel tricennalia ex consimili cupiditate, ut ipse videlicet inde consequatur emolumentum.

26. Audimus quoque quod quidam sacerdotes faciunt suos *diaconos* audire parochianorum suorum confessiones: quod quam absurdum sit, non est opus commonere; cum evidenter verum sit, quod diaconis non est tradita potestas ligandi atque solvendi; ipsique sacerdotes ex hoc non quærant nisi otium aut spatium intendendi negotiis secularibus; propterea firmiter inhibemus ne *diaconi* confessiones audiant, aut pœnitentias injungant, nec alia sacramenta ministrent quæ concessum est solis sacerdotibus ministrare.

27. Volumus quoque et præcipimus ut singuli beneficiati promoveantur ad ordines quos cura, quam susceperunt, exigit (b).

28. Ad hæc, auctoritate speciali apostolicâ, commonemus et præcipimus, ut omnes rectores ecclesiarum et vicarii residentiam faciant in beneficiis suis; conversantes in eisdem laudabiliter et honeste; nisi fuerit ob causam rationabilem, ut in ecclesiis suis non resideant, cum eis dispensatum.

29. In singulis quoque ecclesiis, quarum facultates ad hoc sufficiunt, sint unus diaconus et unus subdiaconus in eisdem, ut decet, ministrantes: in aliis vero ecclesiis saltem sit clericus unus idoneus et honestus, qui sacerdoti cum habitu convenienti in divinis ministret officiis.

30. Præcipimus etiam firmiter, auctoritate evangelicâ et etiam de speciali indulgentiâ apostolica, ne in locis sacris habeantur mercata (c); cum Dominus ementes et vendentes de templo ejecerit, ne domus orationis fieret spelunca latronum; adjicientes ad hujusmodi ut cæmeteria sint bene clausa; et tam ecclesiæ, quam domus ad eas pertinentes, competenter secundum ecclesiarum facultates ædificatæ, ipsæque ecclesiæ decenter ornatae, tam in libris quam vasis sacris et vestimentis; et quod or-

constitutione Othonis legati, concilium in ecclesiâ S. Pauli celebrantis A. D. 1237, ut vides in Matth. Paris, p. 432. Brown. But there were injunctions to this purpose before that year. See Canons, A. 1126, 1138. Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 423. Canons, 1175, in Johnson; and Johnson ad loc. I thought proper to note this, because Grosseteste's Constitutions were probably drawn up before Otto held his council.

(a) f. Turpis lucri gratiâ.

(b) As clerks, who were only in the inferior orders, could in this age hold benefices, they, that they might live more at liberty, and be less under restraint, were often desirous of continuing in the same state. See Canon 1126, Art. 6; also Life of Grosseteste, pp. 184, 190. Annal. Burton, p. 374.

(c) See Kennett, Par. Ant. p. 613; also N^o. Art. 29.

namenta et vasa sacra sint de noctibus sub tutâ et honestâ custodiâ, nec reponantur in domibus laicorum, neque sub eorum custodiâ, nisi rationabilis et evidens ad hoc compulerit necessitas.

31. Execrabilem etiam consuetudinem, quæ consuevit in quibusdam ecclesiis observari de faciendo *festum stultorum* (a), speciali autoritate rescripti apostolici penitus inhibemus; ne de domo orationis fiat domus ludibrii, et acerbitas circumcisionis Domini Jesu joci et voluptatibus subsannetur.

32. Inhibemus quoque ne aliqui sacerdotes celebrent de aceto.

33. Et quia quisque artifex arti suæ plusquam alienæ debet intendere, præcipimus ut rectores animarum arti regiminis animarum vigilanter intendant, cum *Ars*

(a) De hoc festo abrogando monuit episcopus decanum et capit. Lincoln. in Epist. 32. quibus autem ineptiis et ceremoniarum deliramentis hoc *stultorum festum* peractum est, nondum legi, de eo consulendi sunt scriptores rituales. Ex actu ultimo sessionis 21 concilii Basileenses (in quo damnatum erat sub nomine *festi fatuorum*, A. D. 1435) videtur idem fuisse cum illo de quo vir doctus Johannes Gregorius Oxoniensis tractat in *Episcopo Puerorum*: quicquid demum fuit, et quibuscunque ritibus inhonestis actum, indicat miseram istius ævi cæcitatem. Vide Decreta Concilii Basileensis edita a Sebastiano Brand, Basil. A. D. 1499; quæ longe cæteris recentioribus honestior est illius concilii editio. Brown. This festival was certainly distinct from that of the Boy-Bishop, whose part could only be acted where there was a choir; but the other, being performed on St. Nicolas's or Innocents day, as well as on New-Year's day, the *festum stultorum*, at ancient Rome, of which Ovid speaks, Fasti II. 513, and which was the same with the Quirinalia, has led some writers to confound them. In the year 1445, Charles VII. of France ordered the masters in theology at Paris to forbid the ministers of the collegiate churches to celebrate the feast of fools at Christmas in their churches, where the clergy danced in masks and antic dresses, and exhibited *plusieurs mocqueries, spectacles publiques, de leurs corps deguisements, farces, rigmines*; with various enormities shocking to decency. See Mr. Warton's History of English poetry, p. 247. Marten's Anecdotes, I. col. 1804. Belet de divin. offic. c. 72. Guffanvil. post. not. ad Petr. Blefens. It seems to have been pointed at in the Statuta Senonens. A. D. 1445. Instr. tom. xii. Gall. Christian. c. 96. "Tempore divini servitii larvatos et monstruosos vultus deferendo, cum vestibus mulierum aut lenonum aut histrionum choreas in ecclesia et choro ejus ducendo, &c. in Baluse's catal. of MSS was officium stultorum ad usum ecclesia Senonensium notis musiciis. The same was done at Rheims and Lisieux; and at York, in an inventory, 1536, is a little mitre and ring for the bishop of fools. There was an office of *Rex Stultorum* in Beverley church prohibited in 1391. Dugdale's Mon. III. appendix 7. M. Tilliot, who published an essay on the feast of fools in 1751, 12mo. derives it from the Saturnalia, and traces it back to the time of St. Austin. He describes it as a rejoicing among the clergy, priests, and deacons in many churches, from Christmas-day to Epiphany, and more particularly on the last day of the year, when they chose a bishop or archbishop of fools, with many ridiculous ceremonies. Du Fresne Gloss. v, Abbas Cooradorum. These absurdities had crept into some convents, particularly at Aix on Innocents day; and, notwithstanding the endeavours of Eudes de Sully, and Odo bishop of Paris, to abolish the feast of fools in the capital in the 12th century, it continued 250 years (Mezcray Abregè Chron. I. 578.) See also the council of Paris 1212, p. iv. c. 16, and that of Bourdeaux 1620, c. 2; and the synod of Langres 1404; and Rheims 1456, Sens 1460, 1485, 1528, Orleans 1525, 1587, Cologne 1536, Chartres 1550, Narbonne 1551, Cambrai 1565, Lyons 1566-7, all allude to it, as does Innocent III. (lib. 3 decretal. tit. 1. de vita & honestate clericorum). Different accounts fix it to different days; Innocents day, and the octave of Christ's Nativity. It was most remarkable at Dijon, on which M. Tilliot more particularly enlarges.

Artium sit, teste beato Gregorio, regimen animarum; et ut ab hoc non aver-
tantur, districtius inhibemus, ne quisquam eorum audiat in scholis vel doceat leges
seculares.

34. Præcipimus quoque ut in qualibet ecclesia *canon missæ* sit rectè correctus.

35. Præcipimus etiam ut in singulis ecclesiis denunciatur solenniter ne quisquam
levet *arietes super rotas* (a), vel alios ludos statuatur in quibus decertatur pro bravio;
nec hujusmodi ludis quisquam intersit.

36. Prohibeantur similiter computationes quæ vulgo dicuntur *Scotales* (b).

37. Omnes quoque ludi et placita secularia a locis sacris omnino arceantur.

38. Frequenti quoque prædicatione commoneatur ne matres vel nutrices par-
vulos suos in lectis suis juxta se collocent (c).

39. Clandestina quoque matrimonia districtius inhibeantur.

40. Nec permittant rectores ecclesiarum et sacerdotes parochiales quod paro-
chiæ eorum in annua visitatione matricis ecclesiæ decertent cum vexillis præire;
quia inde solent tam pugna quam mors provenire (d).

41. Præcipimus etiam districtius, ut in singulis ecclesiis solenniter denunciatur, ne
quisquam scienter et prudenter concubinas clericorum, nisi forte transitum fa-
cientes, hospitio suscipiat; tunc cautius providens ne in eodem hospitio clericus for-
nicator hospitetur.

42. Ad hæc adjicimus ne laici stent, vel sedeant, inter clericos in *cancello* dum
divina ibidem celebrantur; nisi forte ob reverentiam vel aliam rationabilem causam
hoc solis patronis permittatur.

43. Et quia in multis ecclesiis, ut credimus, non est scriptum *Oxonienſe* concilium;
principium ipsius de *excommunicationibus* in eodem concilio factis ad terrorem ma-
litosorum (e), et eorum refrænationem duximus hic adjungendum, eisdem verbis, qui-
bus in eodem concilio scriptum est; præcipientes ut dictæ excommunicationes sin-
gulis annis in singulis innoventur ecclesiis; cujus principii tenor est talis. *Ex auctoritate Dei Patris et beatæ virginis, &c. &c. &c.* (f).

Hæc igitur volumus et præcipimus sicut canonicè statuta sunt a vobis reverenter
et firmiter observari; sciantque contemptores et transgressores horum, si ritè super
contemptu aut transgressione convicti seu confessi fuerint, nos eos pro posse nostro,
adjuvante Domino Jesu Christo, canonicè punituros (g).

(a) Thought to be a species of the *Quintain*. Du Fresne, v. *Arietem* levare, and Kennett,
Par. Ant. in Gloss. v. *Arietum* levatio.

(b) *Scot Ales*, drinking together, where the different parties paid their respective *shot*, or *ſeet*,
share.

(c) For fear of overlaying them.

(d) Vide Kennett, Par. Ant. p. 599.

(e) Evil doers, or wicked persons, xxxix Artic. art. 26.

(f) This council was held by archbishop Langton in 1222; but I have not transcribed the
whole of the sentence, of which this is the beginning, because it is so easily found in Wilkins,
I. p. 585.

(g) Harum autem constitutionum in eodem MS. compendium et summa proxime sequitur hoc
modo, &c. &c. &c. Brown. This, however, I thought needless to copy.

A P P E N D I X, N° VII.

Of Parochial Vicarages; their Origin and Progress.

Our parochial churches were at first all rectories (*a*), possessed of the tythes, glebe, and offerings, so that vicarages, chapels of ease, and our present donatives, are all of later deduction. As to vicarages, of which I here propose to speak, they all of them originate from *appropriation*, by which is meant the giving and assigning of rectories, or churches, to religious houses and monasteries.

For some time after the Norman Conquest (for I think there were not many appropriations before that æra (*b*)), patrons, who were chiefly lords of manors and erectors of the parish-churches, gave the respective rectories at their own will and pleasure, and without consulting with any body, to whatever religious foundation they pleased (*c*). Churches, therefore, at this time were all donatives (*d*), and the monks in this case collated themselves to the cures. And afterwards, to avoid a multiplicity of institutions and inductions, they obtained licence from the king and the ordinary, and sometimes from the pope himself, to be perpetual incumbents of their appropriated churches without those forms (*e*).

This, however, became a great grievance, as the bishop of the diocese, the only proper judge of the qualification and competency of an incumbent, was excluded from interfering, the monastery receiving at first the investiture of the appropriate church from the hand of the lay-patron, and then taking the cure, without any

(*a*) Hence the word *ecclesia* means a rectory.

(*b*) See, however, Mr. Wharton on Pluralities, p. 104.

(*c*) Tythes were given for four purposes, and so were usually distributed into four parts, the maintenance of the clergy, the repairs of the church, the relief of the poor, and the support of hospitality; but, as Mr. West well observes, so great an attention was paid to the two last intentions, that the former two were greatly neglected. West, *Antiq. of Furness*, p. 65.

(*d*) Sir Henry Chauncy, *Antiq. of Herts*, p. 285.

(*e*) Idem, p. 36. 'Ecclesiæ de Weston non est patronus neque persona, sed monachi de *Miravall* faciunt eam deserviri per aliquem de monachis, et solvunt synod. pro eâ ii. s.' This was said in 1220. See Burton's *Description of Leicestershire*, p. 301.

controul, into their own care and management (*a*). The consequence was, that there was little or no residence kept on such cure, no hospitality, no alms; the monks, for the most part, dispatching their members at times from the monastery, and performing divine offices at the several churches. These, again, they would often discharge in a hasty and perfunctory manner, not to say that the cures were frequently by this means very scandalously neglected (*b*), and the fabrics of the churches, &c. often dilapidated.

To remedy this evil, which was now become notorious, and extremely hurtful every way, it was enacted, in a council held at Westminster in 1102, by archbishop Anselm (*c*), 'That monks do not accept of churches, without the bishop's consent; nor so rob those which are given them of their revenues, that the priests who serve them be in want of necessaries (*d*).' Whence we are informed of a farther inconvenience attendant on this matter; that, in those few appropriated churches which were not served by the monks themselves, but by a secular priest retained for the purpose, the allowance to the officiating minister was often so scanty, that he could not live upon it, but was even in want of common necessaries (*e*); a circumstance of an ill tendency in many respects, especially as in some cases it subjected the parochial clergy to contempt, and in others was a source of much oppression and extortion from them in respect of the people (*f*). The bishop, again, by this salutary injunction was made a judge, for the time coming, of the reasonableness and propriety of all future appropriations (*g*), which caused them, no doubt, to be much more sparingly made (*h*), especially after the third Lateran council, in 1180, and that of 1215, both held by Innocent III. The religious, it is true, seldom wanted pretences for soliciting the bishops to consent to them (*i*), or, in direct contempt of them, for applying to the popes (*k*). They would plead the poverty of their houses, and that they could not possibly subsist without some help or assistance of this sort; they would allege the relief of the poor, and the maintenance of hospitality (*l*), and this was their most plausible pretence; however, by these means, they prevailed on their lordships, or their holinesses the popes, by

(*a*) See note 3; and Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 628, art. 39.

(*b*) Of this we have a striking instance in the abbey of Mailros. Pennant's second Tour in Scotland, p. 81.

(*c*) See also the General Lateran Council, in 1179.

(*d*) Archbishop Anselm's canons, Art. 21. The case, I fear, was the same in many inappropriate rectories. N° VI. above, art. 18. Hence the 13th article of Hugh de Welles, in 1230, runs thus, 'An aliquis sacerdos parochialis non habeat a rectore suo sufficientem sustentationem.'

(*e*) See Kennett, Par. Ant. p. 450.

(*f*) Fox, Martyrol. II. p. 85. Kennett, Par. Ant. p. 434.

(*g*) See also Concil. Westminster, 1226, Art. 4, and Burton, p. 185.

(*h*) Bishop Grosseteste wrote an epistle against them.

(*i*) Kennett, Par. Ant. p. 481.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 434.

(*l*) Ibid. pp. 552, 524.

the most pressing intreaties, to comply with their requests, and actually procured many hundreds of appropriations after the passing of the above canon of 1102 (*a*), and, in the whole, they amounted to more, at that period, than one-third of all the parishes in England (*b*). It was a grievance very anciently complained of by the great men amongst the laity, who, thus deprived of their rights, threatened in 1259 to resume the appropriated benefices (*c*); insomuch, that assignments of churches to religious foundations continued almost down to the æra of the Reformation (*d*). The nunneries also enjoyed their appropriations, and even the bishops (*e*). They were often made for very singular purposes, for the service of the cellar of the abbey, the refectory, the chamber, the infirmary, the library (*f*), &c. A good reason given in the appropriations of Woburn Bucks, Holbech, Mumby, and Huttoft, in Lincolnshire, the advowsons whereof, by leave of the pope, were purchased by bishop Dalderby, and appropriated to the bishop's table, by reason that in the quarrels between the king and the great men, the *bishop's temporalities were seized*, and they were left in great distress. But still the diocesan remained judge of the case, and could refuse his consent if he thought proper, and, no doubt, often did refuse. From this time, however, licences from the pope, or bishops, became necessary (*g*); and after the statutes of Mortmain had passed a clause also respecting them (*h*).

But as to the old and original evil, the canon of 1102 did not prove an effectual cure for it, since archbishop *Richard* was obliged to ordain, in 1173, 'Nullus præsumat intrare ecclesiam absque præsentatione advocati ecclesiæ, et impersonatione diocesani episcopi, vel officialis ejus per ipsum (*i*);' implying, that though churches could not now be conferred on the religious foundations without the approbation of the diocesan, yet those houses retained the disposal and management of those they were already possessed of, and were very tardy in nominating and appointing substitutes.

It appears from the canon of 1102, that the monasteries employed *some* substitutes to officiate in their churches (*k*), though they were but too apt to starve them.

(*a*) Wharton on Pluralities, p. 113. Bishop Grosseteste confirmed the church of Stapleford, in the county of Leicester, to the priory of Sudbury. Burton, p. 265.

(*b*) Judge Blackstone, Rights, B. I. p. 386. They were 3845, when the livings were computed at 9284. Camden, col. ccxxix.

(*c*) Kennet, Par. Ant. p. 433.

(*d*) See Dr. Ducarel's Repertory.

(*e*) Willis, Survey of St. Asaph, p. 57. and of Landaff, p. 53. See a shameful attempt of pope Gregory IX. to appropriate a rich church, of the patronage of Peterborough, under the year 1240.

(*f*) Mr. Thomas Warton, Dissert. II. p. cxiii.

(*g*) Sir Henry Chauncy, p. 36.

(*h*) Willis, Survey of St. Asaph, p. 228. Landaff, pp. 166, 172. Bangor, p. 223. Burton's Description of Leicestershire, p. 185.

(*i*) Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 474.

(*k*) Thomas's account of the bishops of Worcester, p. 90, whence it appears, there were some in the more early Saxon times.

And it is certain, as to this last point, that a short and narrow appointment would happen in many cases; as where the appropriate churches were at a great distance, and where the parishes were so large and extensive, of which there were many at that time of day, as to require not only constant residence, but also the attendance of several ministers. Thus it was appointed, by canon in 1222, 'That in every church, that has a large parish, there be *two* or *three* priests, according to the largeness of the parish, and the estate of the church, &c(a).' There were, it seems, to be *several* priests in these wider districts, besides deacons, sub-deacons, &c. And we accordingly meet with vicars employed by rectors of churches but forty-two years after the Conquest (b) (though, as I apprehend, they were more commonly termed curates (c)), as likewise in the constitution of William, archbishop of York, in 1153 (d). These, however, were but temporary vicars (e), or assistants, removable by their rectors, and enjoying no settled endowment; and yet I find them called *vicarii perpetui* in 1173 (f). Many were endowed and invested, admitted and instituted upon the rector's presentation; hence come *rectores sine cura animarum parochianorum*, in rich benefices, and sometimes to this day; but this practice was over-ruled by the bishops, who refused to admit these vicars or curates under a title; but this, I am of opinion, is said in respect of a more than annual agreement with their rectors (g), perhaps for life, and not because they had been presented to the bishop, were instituted by him, or partook of any part of the benefice, but were paid by a pecuniary stipend of so many marks, or some other mode of compensation (h). And this, I think, is evident from the words of the canon, '*Vicarii perpetui, qui personis ecclesiarum fidei sacramento obligantur, se contra personam non erigant*,' which plainly implies, that though by compact they had agreed to serve for a term of years, and even sworn obedience to the rectors, their principals, they were by no means independent of them, by presentation, institution, or endowment.

In 1181, or 1182, Hugh Pudsey, bishop of Durham, founded several vicarages, allotting them tythes and dues (i). Many were endowed, before 1200, by the council at London.

The monasteries had also their vicars, who were of the same removable kind, as might well be; for, the abbey consisting of a multitude, the whole body could not jointly perform the function of a rector of a parish, and none of them were ob-

(a) Archbishop Langton's canons in 1222, Art. 17.

(b) Anselm's canons at London in 1108, Art. 8. 9.

(c) Dugdale, Warw. p. 44.

(d) Wilkins, Confil. p. 425, bis.

(e) Concerning those *temporary vicars*, called otherwise *parish priests*, see Mr. Johnson on canons, 1127, art. 5.

(f) Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 475. See also canons, 1175, art. 12. In our Appendix, N^o VI. art. 18, they are called only *Sacerdotes*.

(g) Appendix, N^o VI. art. 18. See also Wilkins, I. p. 628. art. 13.

(h) Ibidem.

(i) See Allan's History of Sherborn Hospital, p. 46.

liged to it in particular; and so says Sir Henry Chauncy: 'The king granted them a licence to appoint a deputy, or a vicar, by their common seal, to officiate for them; and, from these precedents, the very prioresses and nuns likewise obtained the like licences to officiate by vicars (a).'

But, by a canon of the general Lateran council of Alexander III. in 1179, *the religious houses* were required to establish vicars in their churches (b); and so we read of vicars ranking with rectors in 1195 (c). These were partly, no doubt, appointed by the monasteries, and partly by the rectors. 'Mr. Noy, urging the antiquity of *vicarages* in this kingdom, that they were before the time of king John, says, *that in Oxfordshire there were four vicarages before his reign* (d).' Savary, archdeacon of Northampton, and rector of Godalmin, in Surrey, presented Richard de Chedingfield to the vicarage of the latter place (e) before 1189; for, Richard, bishop of Winchester, who instituted him, died in that year at farthest (f). And it appears, from the instrument of institution, that there was a perpetual vicarage there before (g). This preferment, however, was not put on the same footing as vicarages were afterwards, when a particular portion of tythes, &c. was allotted to the vicars; for, Richard was to enjoy the whole profit of the benefice, paying his principal, or rector, twenty shillings yearly out of them, in the name of a pension, wherefore Kennett says, in another place, 'At the first institution of vicarages there was ample provision for the vicar, and a very small pension of two shillings, or little more, to the rector;' and he gives an instance of one half of the living being assigned to the vicar employed by a monastery (b). The erection of vicarages was, however, by no means general here in England; for, the Council, held by Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1200, thought proper to enforce the Lateran canon, by directing *all the religious* to 'present priests to bishops for the churches which they hold not by an absolute right, who shall be answerable to the bishops for the care of the people, and accountable to the religious for the temporals. Let them not presume to remove such as are already instituted, without the advice of the bishops (i).' And Hubert himself, who died in 1205, reserved a pension to the vicar of five marks, in his appropriation of Halstow, in Kent, to Christ Church, Canterbury (k). These presentees of the monasteries were

(a) Sir Henry Chauncy, p. 36.

(b) Bini Concil. X. p. 1503.

(c) Canon, 1195, art. 7.

(d) Kennett, Par. Ant. p. 91, citing Sir G. Palmer's Reports, p. 114.

(e) MS. note in Kennett's own copy of Par. Ant. p. 427, penes Ric. Gough, armig.

(f) Le Leve.

(g) Ricardus Dei gratia Winton' Episcopus, &c. Sciat universitas vera quod, resignante in manus nostras magistro Will'o perpetuam vicariam ecclesie de Godalming, contulimus eam, ad petitionem et presentationem Savarici archid' Northampton, persone ecclesie predictae, Ricardo clerico de Chedingfeld, adeo libere . . . perpetuo possidendam sicut eam aliquis predecessorum suorum liberius et integrius noscitur possedisse, &c. MS. note ut supra.

(b) Ibid. p. 429.

(i) Canon, 1200, art. 14. et vide omnino Wilkins, p. 509, 510.

(k) Dr. Ducarel, Repertory, p. 16. Somner, Antiq. p. 127.

properly,

properly, and in strictness of speech, *vicars*; and vicars, as well as rectors, are required to put a stop to *Scot-Ales* and potations, in 1209 (*a*).

But notwithstanding the decree of the Lateran council concerning the establishment of vicars by the religious societies, these corporations were very averse from complying with the order. Halstow and Tinmanston were the only ordained vicarages in the diocese of Canterbury before the year 1220 (*b*). Luton, in the county of Bedford, was ordained in 1219, with an intimation, that, in other churches appropriate to the abbey of St. Alban's, vicarages had been already endowed (*c*). And, about the latter end of king John's time, Sylvester, bishop of Worcester, appropriated Nether-Etendon, in the county of Warwick, to the canons of Kenilworth, reserving a competency for the maintenance of a vicar, *viz.* not less than 100*s.* *per ann* (*d*). And it appears from Burton (*e*), that a great number of vicarages were established, and that Hugh de Welles, bishop of Lincoln, instituted many vicars, before 1220. The vicarages of Snarkeston and Thurcaston, Tilton, Tugby, Welham, &c. in the county of Leicester, seem to have been ordained before 1214 (*f*); and the vicar of Swinford, in the county of Leicester, was instituted by Hugh the Burgundian, bishop of Lincoln, before 1200 (*g*), and that of Burcester about 1212 (*h*); and yet the oldest vicarage Sir Henry Chauncy met with in the county of Hertford was not ordained till 1241, when bishop Grosseteste erected and settled that of Ashwell, appertaining to the great and rich abbey of Westminster (*i*). I think it not improbable, that there might be a settled vicar at Ashwell, under some kind of contract or stipulation with the house at Westminster, before the formal ordination of the vicarage by the diocesan. And, again, that, perhaps, one reason why the monks in general were so backward in conforming to the canon of 1179, might be, that, as they had vicars already on their benefices by contract, they were desirous of being dispensed with from erecting permanent vicarages in their churches till the decease of such vicars. At last, however, they commonly presented one of their fraternity; thus, in 1510, the Premonstratensian house at Beauchief presented one of their canons, John Sheffield, to the vicarage of Norton, in the county of Derby (*k*).

(*a*) Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 530.

(*b*) Ducarel, Repertory, pp. 16, 30. Halstow belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury; and Tinmanston to the Knights Hospitallers.

(*c*) M. Paris, in Vit. Abb. p. 131.

(*d*) Dugdale, Warw. p. 477.

(*e*) Burton's Description of Leicestershire, passim.

(*f*) Burton, pp. 278, 287, 292, 293, 301.

(*g*) Burton, p. 279.

(*h*) Kennett, Par. Ant. in Gloss. v. Oblationes Altaris.

(*i*) Sir Henry Chauncy, p. 35, seq. See p. 119.

(*k*) MS. at Beauchief. Sheffield appears to have returned to the house, for he was elected abbat afterwards.

The oldest endowment of a vicarage occurring in the diocese of Canterbury, next to that of Tilmanston, is in 1223 (*a*). And, indeed, after the canon of 1200, and so much said in cardinal Langton's constitutions in 1222, about vicarages (*b*), it is natural to suppose, that many would be immediately ordained, and Hugh de Welles, bishop of Lincoln, in particular, did settle and establish many. Mr. Johnson speaks of a volume in the archives of Lincoln (*c*), containing *all* the endowments of *all* the vicarages in the diocese, written about 1218, in bishop Welles's time (*d*); but I am informed by my friend, John Fardell, esq. registrar there, who has collated the MS. at my desire, that it contains only an account of the endowments of such vicarages as were endowed by, or previous to, the time of bishop Welles, in number 381, all later ordinations being inserted in the registers of the respective prelates. That of Chesterfield, in Derbyshire, belonging to the dean of Lincoln, as rector, appears to have been settled finally before 1239; and, as there is something particular in the case, which may contribute to illustrate the thirteenth article of cardinal Langton's Constitutions, which prohibits *two* vicarages to be in one church, I shall beg leave to report it. About 1220, Roger de Rolveston, dean of Lincoln, and rector of Chesterfield, who died in 1223, confirmed a demise which Stephen Fitz-Stephen had made of land and a messuage appertaining *ad vicariam suam*, and calls Stephen *vicarius medietatis ecclesiæ de Cestrefield* (*e*), importing, that there were then two vicarages at the place, and, indeed, the parish is large. This was before Langton's canon, and was in fact altered in consequence of it, for, when William de Tournay was dean of Lincoln, and rector of Chesterfield, *Will'us vicarius de Cestrefield* was a witness to a deed of his in 1239, as *D'nus vicar' de Cestrefield* was witness to another deed in 1242 (*f*); and we hear no more after this of any medieties respecting the vicarage of Chesterfield, but always of *one* vicar; so that the vicarage was finally settled between the years 1223 and 1239.

The grand point aimed at by the erection of vicarages, and a most laudable one, was residence in the parochial clergy; and this was the ground of the oath administered anciently to vicars (*g*), and still continued. For the gaining this desirable end, the cures again were not only made independent of the monks, by excluding their precarious ministrations in them, but it was expressly ordained, 'That churches, not worth above five marks a year, be given to none but such as will personally reside, and minister in such churches: let them who do not, be deprived by the diocesan, after due admonition (*h*).' The reason of which pro-

(*a*) Dr. Ducarel, Repertory, p. 20.

(*b*) Archbishop Langton's Canons, A. 1222, art. 12, 13, 14, 16.

(*c*) It contains 32 leaves in vellum, and is intitled 'Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus Vicariarum tempore Hugonis Welles.'

(*d*) Maurice Johnson, esq. in Archæologia Soc. Antiq. vol. I. p. 30.

(*e*) Dean of Lincoln's Chartulary at Lincoln.

(*f*) Ibidem.

(*g*) Otho, A. 1237, c. 10.

(*h*) Langton's Canons, in 1222, art. 15.

hibition was, that the incumbents of such small benefices could not afford to pay vicars. And, that the vicars might be enabled to live, and in some degree to maintain hospitality, the canon directed, that 'An estate which may let to farm for five marks at least, be assigned to the perpetual vicar (a);' which sum Sir Henry Chauncy esteems to equal 100*l. per ann.* at this time (b), but he certainly over-rates it, 50*l. per ann.* being nearer the truth (c). However, bishop Kennett observes, that the allowance that age afforded to the vicars was even beyond the portion now allotted to them (d). And it is certain, that, to speak in general, our vicarages are but meanly endowed at this day, and partly because certain circumstances attended the establishment of vicarages at first, which are now unavoidably lost, such as obits, anniversaries, trentals, &c. once a considerable part of the vicarial emoluments. But the celibacy of the clergy at that time had an ill effect on the allotted endowment, since from that cause the Diocesan could look no farther than to a maintenance for a single man without a family. It often happened again, that many of the largest and best benefices, the market towns, were appropriated, by which means these, which were the most burthensome cures, were often but meanly provided for by the vicarial endowment, and continue, consequently, to be so at this very time. For, though the case of the vicarages ought to have been considered, and their hardships remedied, at the general dissolution of the religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII. yet, unfortunately for the vicars, the rectorial tythes did not then revert to the respective churches, but were granted away to the king's friends and favourites, and so became lay-impropriations (e); a scandalous sacrilege, and highly reproachful to an otherwise very judicious and necessary reformation. Another opportunity of relieving the poor vicarages, though not quite so favourable as that, was offered at the restoration of king Charles II. when almost all the leases of the church-estates in England were fallen in, there having been no renewal for twenty years (f), but this also was in a great measure, though not altogether (g), lost. But this by the way; I return to the subject more immediately before us.

After

(a) Langton's Canons, in 1222, art. 16. See also Somner, *Antiq. Cant.* p. 127.

(b) Sir Henry Chauncy, p. 37.

(c) Supposing the penny to be three times the weight as now, and silver five times the value. Lord Lyttelton's *History of Henry II.* vol. III. pp. 249, 250, 454.

(d) Kennett, *Par. Ant.* p. 303.

(e) *Ibidem.*

(f) 'The fines raised by the renewing the leases rose to about a million and a half. It was an unreasonable thing to let those who were now promoted carry off so great a treasure. If the half had been applied to the buying of tythes or glebes for small vicarages, a foundation had been laid down for a great and effectual reformation.' Bishop Burnet, *Hist. of his own Time*, I. p. 260. IV. p. 41.

(g) Dean Honeywood, in 1665, allotted 30*l. per ann.* to the augmentation of the vicarage of Chesterfield, and its chapels of Brampton and Wingerworth, and his successors still pay it, but

After the indigenous regulation of the archbishop Langton, in 1222, a great number of vicarages were endowed, and especially by Hugh de Welles (who assisted at the council held that year), in the diocese of Lincoln (*a*). Hugh seems to have been particularly zealous in the prosecution of this business, at least he had some hard names given him by M. Paris upon the account. He ordained, as we have seen, the vicarage at Luton, in 1219 (*b*); and we are told, not only that his register contains a great number of vicarial donations, but that in 1220, which was still before the celebration of Langton's council, the churches of *Stodham*, *Toternho*, *Chaugrave*, *Segenbo*, and *Huffeburne*, appropriated to the priory of Dunstable, had all of them vicarages appointed in them, by him (*c*). Bishop Grosseteste again, following the example of his predecessor *De Welles*, was remarkably active and sedulous in favour of vicarages, as appears from his register (*d*), and is equally abused for it by Matthew Paris (*e*). However, by these two prelates in conjunction, a considerable number of vicarages were established in the diocese of Lincoln.

The method pursued in allotting vicars their portions was this. An inquisition was made in the chapters of the rural deans (*f*), into the value of the rectories, and the competent portions to be assigned to the vicarages; regard being always had, in proportioning the last to the nature and size of the cure. A return was then made to the bishop, who was to approve and confirm the acts of the chapters, and had power withal to make any necessary alteration in them; after which, the allotment was to be entered in the bishop's register, he, in effect, having the whole management of the business in his hand (*g*).

The quota usually apportioned to vicars comes next to be considered. At *Stodham*, the vicar was to have the whole *altaragium* except one mark, the tythe of lambs, and a croft, which contained about seven acres. The rectory was judged to be worth 20 marks, and the profits of the vicarage six, so that the vicar enjoyed something less than a third part of the value of the living. In the next case, *Vo-*

durante bene p'acito. This was in pursuance of the king's letters in the 12th year of his reign. As to what else has been done for the improvement of vicarages, the reader may consult bishop Kennett's book on Improvements, and the proceedings of the trustees for queen Anne's bounty.

(*a*) Kennett, Par. Ann. p. 303.

(*b*) And see the account of the *Matricula du'i Hugonis* for the archdeaconry of Leicester, in 1220.

(*c*) 'Eodem anno . . . ordinatæ et taxatæ sunt vicariæ in ecclesiis, quas canonici de Dunstable habent in usus proprios; præhabita in capitulis, in quibus consistunt, diligenti inquisitione de æstimatione tam ecclesiarum quam vicariarum et in quibus competentiùs vicariæ consistere possent. Ordinationis vero in scriniis episcopi reposita verba sunt hæc: *Vicaria ecclesiæ de Stodham, &c.*' Annal. Dunstap. A. 1220.

(*d*) Inett, II. p. 389. See also in 1252, where Grosseteste is still prosecuting this business.

(*e*) See p. 43.

(*f*) These were episcopal officers, employed by, and under, the archdeacons. They were usually concerned in estimating the value of livings, &c.

(*g*) Sir Henry Chauncy, p. 37.

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ternbo was rated at twelve marks, and the vicar's portion was five; he had here almost an half of the value of the living, and his five marks arose from the altarage, an invariable sum of ten-pence from the estate of one *Gower*, the priest's house, and a moiety of the tythe-hay. *Chaugrave* was worth fifteen marks, and the vicar was to have five marks and an half, something more than a third, and his income consisted of the altarage, the priest's house and garden, and the greater croft of four acres, lying to the West. *Segenbo* was upon the same footing, and the vicar's profits arose from all the altarage, excepting tythe-lamb, and the mansum or house which was on the West. *Husseburne*, the last benefice, was estimated at twelve marks, and the vicar was to have five marks and four shillings, to arise from the altarage, a house, a croft, and a croft and meadow on the South. By *altaragium* in these cases is evidently meant *all small tythes and dues*; and it is as clear, that the rule observed in providing for a vicar was to invest him with a revenue of five or six marks, six at the most, and five at the least (*a*); these sums being esteemed a competent maintenance at the time for a single person, and even to enable him to maintain some degree of hospitality (*b*). It appears again, that the vicar's portion commonly consisted of a manse, glebe, and some share of the profits of the living; and that in the smaller livings his part was proportionably the greatest. I do not pretend to say, that these rules were constant and invariable, for the vicar of *Derfingham* had seven marks assigned to him, in 1228 (*c*); and the vicar of *Herteburne* was to have one-third of the profits of the living, when the other two-thirds amounted to one hundred and fifty three marks (*d*), so that his appointment came to above seventy-six marks, which shews, that the circumstances of the livings and cures were always taken into consideration. But the account, as here stated, will, nevertheless, be sufficient to give the reader a tolerable idea of the matter.

As to the *onera*, as they were called, incident to ecclesiastical livings, the vicars were generally to bear some part of them. Thus the priory of Dunstaple, in consideration of the large share it enjoyed of the profits of the above livings, was to entertain the archdeacon in his parochial visitation, to find books, vestments, utensils, to repair the chancels, and to pay the subsidies (*e*); and the vicars were to take all other burthens upon them (*f*).

It

(*a*) The refectory of Mickleover, in the county of Derby, was rated in 1254, at twenty shillings for a tenth, and therefore was worth ten pounds *per annum*, and the vicar answered for a third part, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* or five marks. See in the notes above. The vicar of *Nether Eaton* was to have 5*l.* *per ann.* as above.

(*b*) Burton's Description of Leicestershire, p. 185.

(*c*) M. Paris, in Vit. Abb. p. 130.

(*d*) Idem, Ibidem, p. 144.

(*e*) Vicars, however, often paid tenths, &c. Thorne, inter X Script. col. 2162, 2170, seq. This, therefore, depended entirely on the particular terms and covenants of the ordinations.

(*f*) 'Et sciendum, quod prior sustinebit *onera* quod hospiciū archidiaconi, et sustentationem in libris, et cancellis, et vestimentis, utensilibus, et tallagiis, pro sua portione, alia

It must be supposed then, that before the year 1222, vicarages were daily endowed in churches appropriate to religious houses; but they were more generally established in 1268, when Othobon, by a legatine constitution, directed, 'That the *Cistercians*, and *all others*, who have churches for their own use [that is, appropriate churches], if vicars have not been placed in them, do, *within six months*, present vicars to the diocesans who are to institute them (a);' and, probably, many vicarages which had not been before created and endowed, would be founded by the diocesans, after this time; and, no doubt, before the expiration of this century, a large number of the parochial vicarages were established, though the business was not totally finished till the civil power interfered, and the statutes of 15 Richard II. c. 2. and 4 Henry IV. c. 12. were enacted.

The pope gained a considerable increase of power by the ordination of vicarages, which certainly was a prevailing motive with the legate Othobon to urge the immediate and universal institution of vicars. The number of monks in the cloisters continued much the same, but the body of the parochial clergy would be much enlarged by these new presentations, and therewith the roll of his holiness's subjects and dependants; a view always worth regarding by a court so ambitious of power. Litigations would also often spring up between the vicars and the religious houses, and appeals consequently to Rome, which would not only bring money into the Papal treasury, but also afford his holiness an opportunity sometimes of gratifying a party he would chuse to befriend, or, perhaps, of humbling an house he had a mind to depress and disoblige. Nay, instances would frequently happen, wherein, if it were for his purpose, these altercations would furnish him with a handle for slighting both the contending parties, for declaring a vicarage vacant, and conferring it on some creature of his own. All these were inducements with the popes to permit and encourage the erection of vicarages in the appropriate churches, and the diocesans, on their parts, wanted not reasons for concurring in the measure. The residence of the clergy in the parochial cures, at a time of general negligence and relaxation in that respect, was a most valuable object in the eyes of those wise and conscientious prelates, *De Welles* and *Grosseteste*; and, if the number of ecclesiastics were hereby increased, the more and better labourers, a matter which they had very much at heart, there would be in the vineyard, and with no abatement, but rather an advancement of the episcopal power and dignity. It may be said, upon the whole, that no alteration in the ecclesiastical system had happened for many years, that was better calculated to afford ease and satisfaction to the minds of those prelates who had a just regard to the pastoral care, and to meliorate the state of the church in respect of its service. Appropriations were a grievance at best, and the offspring

onera sustinebit vicarius. Annal. Dunstap. ibidem. The usual *onera* of vicars in M. Paris, in Vit. Abb. p. 131. are 'Parochialia, synodalia, archidiaconalia, ordinaria et consueta,' which shews, that these things varied in different places, and according as the agreements were made.

(a) Johnson, Canons, in 1268, art. 22.

(b) Leland, Coll. IV. p. 47.

of

of Rome (a); and, amongst the MSS of Ramsey abbey, there was an epistle of Robert, bishop of Lincoln (I suppose bishop Grosseteste) *contra appropriationes beneficiorum*. The institution of vicarages, however, was the best method of alleviating it, and one which nobody could object to, but the appropriators; whose revenues would often, no doubt, be somewhat diminished by them; and whose authority and power over their officiating clerks would necessarily be abridged, by the latter being more independant of them, and responsible only to the diocesans.

(a) Kennett, Par. Ant. pp. 356, 430.



APPENDIX,

A P P E N D I X, N^o VIII.

The Origin of *Valores Beneficiorum*.

The origin of *Valors*, as authentic standards of the value of livings, by which money was upon occasion to be levied, rises no higher, in my idea, than the commencement of our parochial vicarages; the erection of these being, at first, one principal cause of making those estimates more accurately than common, of noting down, and preserving them when made. By a *valor* I mean a book of rates, to be a public written rule or standard, by which the several incumbents, whether religious or secular, were to make their payments, from time to time, of first-fruits and tenths, and all other subsidies whatsoever.

Many churches are registered in Domesday book, but no value is there added; the reason of which seems to be, that as that survey was intended for purposes merely civil, there was no occasion to insert the value of the several rectories, these belonging to a different branch of the constitution, to the clergy, and not to the king. To cut the matter short; it was necessary that the power of the pope in this kingdom should be most firmly established, and in the fullest extent, before a book of rates could well take place; and so, when the clergy, before that, granted the crown a tenth, or other proportion, they assessed themselves, and without the intervention of an oath; the bishops appointing collectors for their respective dioceses, and these again, issuing their mandates to the rural deans (*a*), who settled the sums to be paid by the several incumbents in their chapters by *common estimation*, or the reputed value of the benefices (*b*). There seems to have been no other standard for the year 1217 (*c*), but notoriety and reputation; and

(a) These were always employed. See Thorne, Chron. in X. script. col. 2160, and when the bishop of Norwich was appointed general collector for the pope, in 1254, he applied himself directly to the rural deans. See also Annal. Dunstap, p. 95.

(b) Eodem anno [1217] dedimus vicefimam reddituum noſtrorum ſecundum communem æſtimationem bonorum noſtrorum, ad ſuccurſum terræ ſanctæ, ſimul de tribus annis. Annal. Dunſtap. p. 85.

(c) See note b.

so, when Hugh de Welles, bishop of Lincoln, erected five vicarages in the churches belonging to the priory of Dunstaple in 1220, and investigated the values of the rectories by means of the rural deans, and then, as the case was special, and very different from that of paying subsidies, proceeded in their enquiries with greater strictness than common^(a), there is still no reason for thinking, that any authentic written standard for the whole kingdom was then existing. And, therefore, I assume, that there was no proper *valor*, as described above, till force and compulsion commenced, and the pope began to raise money on the subject, which was not till after the kingdom was absolutely enslaved by him, and the grand engines of interdicts and excommunications could obtain their full force.

Now, if these things were so, it is in vain to expect to hear of *valors* before the reign of king Henry III. or rather till the vicarages began to be established, about the year 1220, soon after which many vicarages were established or endowed in the appropriated rectories. These rectories were numerous, and now that they were divided into two parts, the rectory and the vicarage, each of which, how unequal soever, had a value, the number of benefices was not only considerably increased, but it became necessary, in a manner, to keep a note, or memorandum, of what each was esteemed to be worth. And the inquest, the strict inquest, made at this time into these, would naturally serve for a basis of a like inquisition to be made throughout the whole kingdom; and nothing is more likely, than that the king, or the pope, or the ordinary, would extend these more accurate enquiries to all benefices whatsoever. And it was done, to purpose, by the second of those parties. This is what was meant above, by saying, that the creation of vicarages was one cause of making the established and standard *valors*; viz. that the scrutinizing strictness, applied, on that occasion, in one class of benefices, set an example for treating the universality of them in the same manner.

In 1224, the king had a fifteenth of the movables given him, by both clergy and laity, in return for granting the charters of liberty and the forest^(b). This subsidy, I conceive, was collected, on the part of the clergy, according to *common estimation*, in the same manner as one may suppose the contributions and *quotas* of the laity were; at least I find not any traces that a *valor* was made on the occasion. Laurence, abbat of Burton, paid 800 marks for his share.

In 1227, a fifteenth was demanded by the king of the clergy, ‘tam rerum ecclesiasticarum quam laicarum,’ and was collected, though an appeal was made to the pope^(c). This, however, I look upon to have been levied in the same manner as the former, and without making any new and formal *valor*. The same may be said of the other subsidies granted at the commencement of the reign of Henry III, for which archbishop Wake’s State of the Church may be consulted^(d).

(a) Diligenti inquisitione. Annal. Dunstap. p. 95.

(b) Annal. Burton, pp. 275 278, 358. M. Paris, pp. 323, 336. Annal. Dunstap. p. 132.

(c) M. Paris, y. 336.

(d) Wake, State of the Church, p. 163.

A. 1229. The pope's quarrel still subsisting, and even flaming in open war, wherein his holiness had retained Jon Bren, king of Jerusalem, and other great military officers in his service, at a heavy expence, his finances began to run very low; indeed, his treasury was so far exhausted, that he had involved himself in almost inextricable debts. And as he had lately gratified king Henry III. with an archbishop to his mind, in the person of Richard Wethershed, he thought this a favourable opportunity for him to extort something considerable, in return, from his feudatory kingdom; and it is the first instance, I presume, we have, of any money formally levied here for the use of the pope (a). To say truth, Gregory IX. had some grounds for doing this; for, the king's agents, when they were at Rome about the election of archbishop Richard (b), had most unwarily and imprudently promised him, in order to induce him to reject *Walter de Hemesham*, a tenth of all the movables in England and Ireland (c), towards the maintenance of his war with the emperor, and by that sole means carried their point (d).

The pope, on this, sent Stephen, one of his chaplains, nuncio to England, for the purpose of collecting and receiving the tenth so promised and assured to him; when, to pass by all matters relative to the concession of this grant by the clergy and laity, this nuncio exhibited to the prelates the letters procuratorial which constituted him the pope's collector for this tenth (e), and, moreover, imported, that their goods and movables (f) were to be assessed, not according to the taxation used for the fifteenth (g) lately given to the king, in 1224, in consideration of the charters then granted, but to the utmost of their ability for his holiness's benefit, viz. of all their rents, profits, products of their ploughs, oblations, tythes, increase of animals and fruits; and of all the obventions of their rectories, or other possessions, by whatever name soever they were called; and no debts or expences on any pretence to be deducted. *Stephen* had powers, by the same letters, to excommunicate recusants and gainfayers, and to subject churches to an interdict.

The *valor*, I presume, is now lost, but the particulars concerning the house at *Burton upon Trent*, are preserved by the annalist.

Annal. Burt. p. 359.

A. 1255.

‘Summa decimarum redditus assisi totius abbatie Barthoniae, *liv. xixs.*

Summa decimarum bladi & faeni. de dominico de Burthonia, *xxxvis. viiid.*

(a) Rapin, p. 354.

(b) This was about Ash-Wednesday, 1219.

(c) Wales and Scotland are added in M. Paris, p. 363, & vide Annal. Dunstap. p. 202.

(d) M. Paris, p. 355.

(e) The bishops were afterwards employed, as in the Norwich valor of 1254, and that of 1259. See Willis, Survey of Bangor, p. 121.

(f) Mobilia et immobilia, the Annals of Burton say, p. 358. ‘De omnibus terris, redditibus, decimis, oblationibus (non deductis expensis), de episcopatibus, abbatibus, prioratibus, et aliis ecclesiis regularibus et secularibus, et leproforum domibus: excepto solo ordine *Cisterciensi*.’ Annal. Dunstap. p. 202.

(g) By some mistake, either of the author, or transferber, it is called in M. Paris a twentieth. See the places referred to in the preceding page, and Matthew himself, p. 336.

De Pomis vid.

De Anseribus, Gallinis, Agnis, et Porcellis, vis. viii d.

Summa decimæ bladi & fœni de Streton, xlvis. v d.

_____ Bront, xv s. ob. (a)

_____ Wineham, vs. iv d.

_____ Stapeh (a), xxvs. ix d.

De literis ultra Donnam (b).

Summa decimarum bladi & fœni de dominico abbatibus ultra Donnam, xliii s. iii d.

Summa de Adulnestr. xxxiv s. ix d. ob.

Summa de Apeb. . . . xviii s.

Summa de Bronil. . . . viis. iv d. ob.

Summa summarum abbatis, £.xvi viii s. id (c).

Summa decimationis decimæ fœni in parochia de Burthonia iv s.

De Cantar. viii d. ob.

De Andrefeya, ii d.

De Sacrista, i marca.

De Camera, ii marcæ, viii s. ix d.

De Infirmaria, xii d.

De Eleemosynaria, iv s.

De Refectorio, ii d. ob.

De Horto, xii d.

De Coopertorio, iv s.

De Anniversario, vs.

De Coquinaria, marcæ viii s. iii d. ob. (d).

Summa Obedientiarum, £.xxiv vis. id.

Summa Summarum, £.xxiv. xiv s. ii d.

Sub pœna excommunicationis facta fuit ista decimatio, et consimilis per totum regnum Angliæ.

The *Nuncio* then proceeded to appoint agents for the several counties, and to excommunicate all persons, who, by themselves or others, should use any collusion, make any fraudulent agreement, or be guilty of any subtraction or deceit, either in paying the tenth, or making the assessment. And, because the business required dispatch, he enjoined all the prelates, and others of the clergy, on pain of excommunication, to pay him a set sum immediately, either by borrowing or otherwise, that he might instantly remit it to the pope; promising they should be allowed it to the full, when the taxation was made and finished. Gregory was so immersed in

(a) Stapenhill.

(b) i. e. Douvam, the river Dove, written *Dona*, pp. 248, 363, where afterwards Eginton bridge is said to be over *Aquam de Done*. See also p. 364.

(c) This does not accord with the particulars.

(d) This does not answer.

(e) *J. Brown. i. e. Bromley, 6X x 15ft.*

debt

debt at the juncture, that he was totally at a loss how to carry on the war; and it was for this reason, that Stephen dispatched his letters to the prelates, as above, to demand a payment at a certain day, in new money and of full weight. Stephen, moreover, was so unreasonable in his demands, as to compel the clergy to advance the value of the tythe-corn before it was reaped, and even while it was in the blade (*a*). The prelates had no remedy, but were forced to sell some of their chalices, phials, phylacteries, and sacred vessels, and to place out others upon pawn. But, what was more scandalous than the rest, the *nuncio* brought certain usurers (*b*) along with him under the specious name of merchants, who offered to lend money to those who were most distressed; and Stephen pressing upon such, they were forced to borrow of them, and by that means fell into their greedy clutches, to their great loss and damage. 'The land was filled with cursing,' says M. Paris, 'on the occasion, though men uttered their curses in private; all praying that this money might never do any good to the exactors;' and it happened, he adds, according to their wishes, and so concludes, 'Et sic abrasor pecuniarum Magister Stephanus, Domini Papæ capellanus, Anglis fœda reliquit vestigia (*c*);' comparing him to the arch fiend, who, when he appeared, was vulgarly said to leave some mark of his foot, or some foul smell behind him.

What a shameful thing it was, that so large a sum of money should be squeezed from the subjects (*d*), in such a remorseless manner, for the service of a foreign power, and for the unchristian purpose of carrying on the pope's personal war; a war waged against the most eminent of the Christian princes, the emperor, to whose government he ought, in all reason and justice, to have been subject and subservient, as his liege man. It gave scandal to all ranks of men (*e*). The ambassadors, as mentioned above, were first highly culpable, then the king, who made not the least opposition; and lastly, the prelates, who, after a deliberation of two or three days upon the motion, consented to it, though with some murmuring.

Now, as to the taxation which is the subject we are more immediately upon, I am of opinion, that at this time the first *valor* was made. It was well known at Rome, whither reports of all ecclesiastical transactions were sure to be punctually carried (*f*), what steps had been taken towards forming a general book of rates, by strict in-

(*a*) So in 1254. The payment was paid immediately, 'Facta est autem solutio istius pecuniæ primo anno nunciis ejusdem episcopi ad locum et terminum ab eis præfixum, et in depositum missa.' Annal. Burton, p. 336.

(*b*) These were the Lombards and Caufini, which last were driven out of the kingdom in 1241. They are also called Caorcini from the city of Cahors in France. Du Fresne in v. They took 16 per cent. per annum; and there is a precedent of a bond given to them in M. Paris, p. 418; and in Fuller, Church History in Henry III. p. 66.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 355.

(*d*) The Priory of Dunstable paid forty marks, and for the chapels in the Peak two and a half more. Annal. Dunstap. p. 202.

(*e*) M. Paris, p. 353.

(*f*) As to *valors*, the pope always had a transcript of them. Thorne, col. 1264, where there is a remarkable particular, that what was marks in the king's book was pounds at Rome.

quisitions which had been set on foot on the erection of vicarages. These were an undeniable specimen of what might be done universally; and the pope, it is plain, was no stranger to the loose methods that had been pursued in levying fifteenths for the service of the crown, since in his letters procuratorial he so expressly directs, at this time, that all goods and movables should be assessed in a more accurate and extensive manner than hitherto had been done, even in the year 1224. A rigid and exact valuation was undoubtedly made now, and, in all human probability, the particular sums, payable by individuals, were noted down, and kept on record.

In 1240, Otto, the legate, convened all abbats and priors at London, and imposed a subsidy upon them for the service of the pope against the emperor; but in this he proceeded not by any rule or standard, but by his own arbitrary will and pleasure, as we are expressly told (a); and the historian remarks, that the abbats who were there in person were loaded more heavily than those that appeared by their proctors.

However, I think it may be queried, whether during the residence of Martyn, the pope's minister and clerk, who left England in 1245, a new *valor* was not made, and a copy of it transmitted to the court of Rome, or carried thither by him (b); for, when Innocent IV. at the council of Lyons, in 1245, demanded 6000 marks of our prelates, it was for a *twentieth*, as appears from the reasonings of the assembly at St. Paul's (c), consequently, it was adjusted by some rule, either made by Martyn, or that of 1229. One of these is also again referred to, in 1252, when, on occasion of the new bishop of Rochester having a grant of a *fifth*, it is said, 'Exigebat igitur sibi summam memoratam exhiberi, non secundum aestimationem bonorum ecclesiasticorum a subiectis, sed quocunque modo ex bonis ecclesiasticis emergentium (d)'. And in the *Litteræ Episcopi Norwicensis executorialæ*, A. 1254 (e), when the *Norwich valor*, as it is called, was made; there is a manifest reference to former *valors* in these words, 'non obstantibus aliquibus taxationibus præhabitis,' perhaps those of Stephen and Martin.

There is room to say much of the *Norwich valor* of 1254, from the Annals of Burton (f), but it is not my design to give an history of the *valors* in general. My late

(a) Annal. Burton, p. 359.

(b) M. Paris, p. 708.

(c) Ibidem, p. 717.

(d) Ibidem, p. 831.

(e) Annal. Burton, p. 335.

(f) M. Paris, p. 890, agrees with the Annals. See Kennett, Par. Ant. p. 249. Mr. Wood is therefore widely mistaken in saying the Norwich taxation was made when Hugh de Welles was bishop of Lincoln, as he died in 1234. Wood, Hist. and Antiq. p. 106. I suppose he found *H.* the Christian name of the bishop of Lincoln, which he interpreted *Hugh* instead of *Henry*, i. e. Henry de Lexington. Knighton also says, it was made in 1266, but he must err in this, as Mr. Newcourt observes, Repertorium, I. p. 53, since Walter Suthfield, bishop of Norwich, died in 1257. Mr. Newcourt tells us, that M. Paris, p. 707, refers the taxation to A. 1246, and

late excellent friend, Dr. Charles Lyttelton, late bishop of Carlisle, was very desirous of having pope Nicolas's *valor* in 1291 (*a*), of which there are many copies in our libraries (*b*), printed, thinking an impression might be useful for many purposes. And an editor, whoever he may be that undertakes it, will, no doubt, think proper to give a history of our *valors* in a preliminary discourse. I, in the mean time, hoping it may prove acceptable to the reader, shall here give an idea of the method of making them, taken from that of 1254, though I propose not to pursue the history of them any farther. The pope, first of all, appointed a principal collector (*c*), called also *executor* (*d*) and he administered an oath to the rural deans and these rectors or vicars of the most consequence in the chapters of every deanry in the respective dioceses, to make a true return (*e*). These, therefore, were the persons that in fact made the *valors*, and had a power of tendering an oath to the parties they were to examine and enquire of, and, in case of contumacy, of interdicting or excommunicating them. The return of the dean and his associates was to be made in writing, under their seals (*f*), at a certain time and place. The religious houses were to be rated along with the secular benefices; and though, in the present case, the favourite orders of the Cistercians, the Hospitallers, and Templars, were to be exempted (the two latter, I presume, on account of the personal service to be performed by them in the Holy Land, this subsidy being intended for the crusade), yet the *valor* was to include them (*g*), to be ready, we will suppose, on future occasions. If the religious house was situated in the deanry, then the

Matthew does say in that page, that the bishops of Norwich and Winchester were appointed by the pope to collect a certain sum of money for him that year, but the *Norwich* taxation, as it is called, was not compiled at that time, but in 1254 when the bishop of Norwich alone was employed, as Matthew informs us himself, p. 890, and see Annal. Burton, pp. 335, 358, 360. This Norwich taxation, being superseded by later ones, is now lost, except that what relates to Burton upon Trent occurs in the Annals of that Abbey, pp. 336, 360.

(*a*) For which see Kennett, Par. Ant. in Glossary, art. *Taxatio* and *Tenth*s.

(*b*) Of that at Lincoln see Archæologia, I. p. 36. The most valuable copy, or, perhaps, the original of this *valor*, 1291, is in the Cottonian library, Tiberius, C. x. a fair transcript of which intituled, "Registrum D'ni Papæ de Taxat. spiritual. & temporal. Angliæ & Walliæ," Mr. Gough purchased at the sale of the duke of Argyle's library, June 2, 1785. In the Bodleian library is another copy, intituled, "Taxatio omnium beneficiorum in Angliâ tempore regis Edw. I." and formerly belonging to Sir Henry Spelman. Mr. Edward Burton of Oriel college, and barrister of the Middle Temple, collated this with other MSS in the same library, intending to publish it by subscription, 1717. It consists of 197 folio leaves, but wants part of several dioceses. Extracts from it have been printed in the accounts of several cathedrals. See Brit. Topog. I. 116. *MS a copy at Litchfield*

(*c*) In the *valor* of 1291, there were two bishops collectors, who had each their deputy. Kennett, p. 312, and the deputies appointed two rectors to be taxers, p. 315.

(*d*) Annal. Burton, p. 336.

(*e*) Ibidem, p. 334.

(*f*) The rural deans themselves had a seal of office.

(*g*) This I infer from the words in the bishop of Norwich's injunctions, 'Cujuscunque sint exemptorum vel non exemptorum.'

effects thereof were to be taxed by the religious themselves upon oath (*a*), namely, such of their effects as did not consist in appropriate churches or separate tythes, for these would fall under the cognizance of the rural dean and his partners; but, if the foundation was in another deanry, then these assessors were to rate what effects lay in their deanry (*b*). If a benefice was farmed, it might be entered for payment, according to the rent. The jurates, lastly, were to proceed under pain of excommunication and the reward they were to have for their trouble; was, to be made partakers of the indulgence granted to those, who went on the expedition to the Holy Land, or at least contributed to it (*c*).

The value of benefices would be often altering from various causes, which made it necessary for *valors* to be renewed from time to time: but then we are not to suppose a new one was always made when a new subsidy was granted either to the king or pope; for, on many occasions, the collectors, no doubt, proceeded by the last *valor*, as the authentic standard; though in other cases we find the former taxations superseded and rejected, and a new one expressly directed to be made. This, however, may be concluded, that all subsidies granted by the clergy after the year 1229 (or after the year 1245, if a new standard was then made), and before the year 1254, were regulated by the estimate of the year 1220, and all after 1254 went upon the valuation then made till 1291 (*d*).

I shall add, for the farther elucidation of the nature of these old *valors*, the return from Burton, in 1254, made by the sub-prior and certain monks of the house, upon oath.

Ecclesia B. valet 14 marcas.

Bona ad Coquinam spectantia valent 105 solidos.

Bona ad Cameram pertinentia, 5 marcas.

Ad Refectorium et Hospitale, xxx*d*.

Ad Infirmitorium, duas marcas.

Ad Eleemosynam, 40 solidos.

Ad Sacristiam, 5 solidos.

Ad Camerariam, duos solidos.

Summa totius, tantum

Decima inde deducta, tantum (*e*).

Certain of their effects were then, as they set forth, in the king's hand, by reason of the vacancy of the house.

(*a*) Annal. Burton, pp. 335, 336.

(*b*) Thus, what the abbey of Burton had at Abbots-Bromley was taxed by the dean of Blithfield in that county.

(*c*) Annal. Burton, p. 335, where the collector was employed by the crown, he seems to have had a farthing per mark. Thorne, Chron. Col. 2161.

(*d*) Kennett, p. 316.

(*e*) Annal. Burton, p. 336.

A P P E N D I X, N^o IX.*Claims of the Dean and Chapter.*

The Dean and Chapter pretended, that the bishop could not hear and decide any causes, or correct any irregularities of any of the canons of Lincoln, or of any clerks employed in the choir, or of any vicars, whether priests or clerks, or even of laymen belonging to the dignities, prebends, or the common estate of the church, or of any persons resident in the families of the canons, unless the decision of such cause, or the correction of the irregularities of the persons abovementioned, devolved to him by appeal, or through the negligence of the dean.

The bishop observed to the dean and chapter, in an epistle to them, upon this claim of theirs (a), that it implied and included many more things than at first sight it seemed to do. For, says he, should any of the persons before specified be guilty of any offence against the authority, dignity, or function of the bishop, in any of the aforesaid places, or even out of them; he cannot, according to them and their pretensions, punish such offence, but must either suffer it to pass unnoticed and uncorrected, or must prosecute the insult before an inferior, and by an inferior be judged. For example, should a bishop pass through a parish belonging to a dignity, prebend, or the common estate, and the bells should not be rung, as is usual, he could not, according to them and their pretensions, punish the offenders immediately, though the fault was notorious both to himself and his retinue, but must leave them unpunished, or else refer the matter to his inferior, before which inferior the party offending would be permitted to make his defence, as the fault was not notorious to this inferior judge, and so could not be punished, without being regularly convicted by the bishop. And the same would happen, if any of the before-mentioned persons should refuse to let the bishop confer orders, say divine offices, or administer any of the sacraments, in the aforesaid places, or even in others in the diocese; or, through contempt, omission, or negligence, or by op-

(a) Brown, p. 352, seq.

probrious language, or in any other the most shocking manner, should insult the authority, dignity, and office of the bishop. This, however, he said, was contrary to the example of *Moses*, who, though he had judges and officers under him, yet punished delinquents himself.

The bishop then proceeded to deduce some other of the like absurd consequences flowing from their positions and premises; as, that if a man, of any jurisdiction whatsoever, should insult him as a bishop in the places before named, openly and notoriously, he should not have it in his power to animadvert upon him, and other misdemeanors committed by the above parties any where, or by any other persons in the above places, though notorious to the bishop, or even confessed publicly by them, he must be obliged to suffer and pass them over without redress. And so if it happen, that a rector of a church, which is not prebendal, nor belonging to a dignity, or the common estate, or the vicar of such a church, should offend there, and the rector or vicar be a canon, or is employed in the choir, or has a vicarage or some clerical office, or a residence in the dignity, prebend, or common estate, or lived in any family of the canons, the bishop could not correct him, nor take cognizance of the case. Again, it may often happen, he observes, that the offences of great men must necessarily pass unpunished, should they offend under the above circumstances, or in the said places, since the power of the dean, or of any canon, will often be found too weak to contend with them, and yet their insufficiency cannot be construed negligence; whence it follows, that the correction of such irregularity can never devolve to the bishop, there being neither negligence in the case, nor appeal, as the delinquent will never promote any. Besides, there are some enormities, on which the bishop alone can properly animadvert, such as deserve degradation, and shall not the bishop have it in his power to inflict this kind of punishment? It may happen too, that some one of the above clerks defamed for murder, or theft, or some other bad crime, may be seized and imprisoned by the civil power, and no one can release him but the bishop, to whom he is to be given up in order to be tried in his court; and shall not the bishop be able to try and decide such cause, or, if there be no prosecutor, subject the clerk, on the violence of suspicion, to purgation, and so judicially either condemn or absolve him? but, according to their system, as there is neither negligence nor appeal in the case, he cannot do this. Besides, if the dean and canons, or as many of the canons as happen to be present, are the chapter without the bishop, and this chapter should notoriously offend against the episcopal authority, dignity, or office; or suppose the chapter should have a cause to try with a person belonging to the bishop's jurisdiction, or such person with them, the bishop, according to them, could neither punish the offence, nor try the cause. It follows also from their premises, that, the bishop cannot visit any persons or any places, subject to their jurisdiction, and yet they cannot *prescribe* against such visitation, nor object to it by *custom*. He requires them, therefore, to answer clearly, whether, as such consequences as these follow necessarily upon their claim, they expected their claim should include those consequences, so prejudicial to the ecclesiastical authority, dignity, and office, and so repugnant both to natural and common law, or not.

And,

And, if they meant that all these consequences should be included, he desired to know upon what special pleas they proceeded, since *common right* was so manifestly against them, that so, being master of the grounds of their claim, he might advise with his counsel, and give a definitive answer to their demands; assuring them, as he had often done before, that with God's grace he should ever be willing to yield to justice and truth.

In the course of this long altercation between the bishop and the dean and chapter, many other letters were written concerning it by the former, in particular the 127th, in bulk as large as a tract (*a*). But, as enough has been said for the opening of the nature of this cause, and something more will be added hereafter concerning the progress and conclusion of it, I shall not weary the reader with the particulars of their correspondence, but content myself, on supposition he should be desirous of entering more minutely into it, with referring him to Brown, pp. 367, 361, 368, 370, 371, 372, 373, 375, 376, bis. Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. P. 345.

(*a*) It is in MS. in the library at Westminster. Wharton, Ang. Sac. II. p. 345, where he tells us, that in the MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, it occurs by itself, and is intitled *De Cura Pastoralis*. v. p. 335.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, N° X.

On GREEK MSS in ENGLAND.

We had very few Greek MSS here in England in the thirteenth century; some were imported by archbishop Theodore in the seventh century, and were still remaining (*a*); but, to judge from the state of our libraries, not many had been brought hither afterwards; and yet it is possible, that the ecclesiastics who went on the first expeditions to the Holy Land might pick up here and there one (*b*).

In my transcript of the *Textus Roffensis*, p. 211, seq. there is a much larger catalogue of the library of the church of Rochester than that we have in Mr. Hearne's edition of the *Textus*, p. 234; but there are no Greek books there, except

Johannes Chrysostomus de reparatione lapsi.

Libri quoque ejusdem de compunctione.

Liber etiam ipsius de Psalmo quinquagesimo.

Et liber ipsius de eo quod nemo leditur nisi a seipso.

Et de expulsiōe sua.

And these, perhaps, might be all translations; for, I find the first and second in the library at Peterborough (*c*).

John de Basing, when he returned from Athens, brought over several Greek MSS with him (*d*), probably Pseudo-Dionysius, the Areopagite, Johannes Damascenus, and some pieces of Aristotle. He informed bishop Grosseteste of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the bishop sent to Athens for the book; and it is not improbable, that the bishop, when he was studying himself at Paris, might meet with a Greek author or two there; however, we are assured that he collected some (*e*).

(*a*) M. Parker, p. 80. Godwyn de Præful. p. 41.

(*b*) Mr. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, Dissert. II, pp. cxlii, cxliii.

(*c*) Gunton, pp. 178, 199.

(*d*) Leland in *Tanneri Biblioth.* p. 431.

(*e*) Roger Bacon, in A. Wood, *Hist.* p. 82.

Benedict, abbat of Peterborough, died in 1194; and, in Gunton's History of that church, p. 25, we have a catalogue of his library, which was really ample, as might be expected of one who had the reputation of being a learned man; but there is not one Greek author among them. In 1222, abbat Robert died; and, in 1226, abbat Alexander de Holderness; but neither of them were very rich in books; however, neither of them was possessed of a Greek author (*a*). Abbat Martin died in 1233, without any Greek MS. in his library, as did abbat Walter de St. Edmundo in 1245 (*b*). The case was the same with abbat William de Hotot, who resigned; and abbat John de Caletot, who died in 1262 (*c*). In the library of the latter there was *Testamentum XII Patriarcharum*, of bishop Grosseteste's version no doubt, as this was made in 1242.

It seems to follow, from this state of things, that bishop Grosseteste's acquaintance with Greek authors could not be very extensive. Nicolas the Greek might be possessed of two or three, which, no doubt, were at his lordship's service; but, otherwise, all he quotes, exclusive of Dionysius, Johannes Damascenus, and Suidas, are only Aristotle, Plato, and Chrysostom. Joseph Scaliger observes, that books in his time were three years in travelling from Paris to Leyden (*d*), nay, four or five years (*e*); whence, considering the distance of the Levant, any transcripts there made of ancient authors would be long getting into the West, especially as there was so little demand for them here. Indeed, the demand could not be great, since we are told, that a copy of the Bible was worth four or five hundred crowns before the invention of the art of printing (*f*).

(*a*) Gunton, History of Peterborough, p. 29.

(*b*) Ibidem, pp. 30, 33.

(*c*) Ibidem, p. 35.

(*d*) Scalig. Epist. IV. 355, 356

(*e*) Idem, Epist. 360.

(*f*) Saldenus, de Libris, p. 25.

A P P E N D I X, N° XI.

*On the Introduction of the GREEK NUMERALS into ENGLAND.**Anno 1238.*

Monfieur Huet endeavours to deduce our ciphers, or arithmetical figures, from the letters of the Greek alphabet. Huetiana, cap. 48. But, in a MS treatise of Algorism (*a*), or arithmetic, in verse, in the British Museum, 8 C. IV. 6, ascribed to bishop Groffeteste, they are expressly brought from *India*, and, as we may suppose, by way of Spain; the Spaniards having them from the Moors, the Moors from the Arabs, and the Arabs from the Indians. The words of the MS. are,

Hec algorismus ars presens dicitur, in qua
Talibus *Indorum* fruimur bis quinque figuris.

0. 9. 8. 7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. 1.

It is plain to me, that Matthew Paris, in the passage I am here illustrating, does not mean our present figures, as appears from the copy of his History in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where this passage is given us more fully, and I presume from his own pen (*b*).

‘De quibus figuris hoc maximè admirandum, quod unica figura quilibet numerus representatur: quod non est in *Latino*, vel in *Algorismo* (*c*). Quas huic paginae duximus protrahendas. Fiat stipes et in eodem lineas exeuntes, ut quælibet angulum rectum acutum vel obtusum faciat, protrahas; hoc modo,

1 7 14 4 1 2 1 1 1

I. II. III. IIII. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. quasi citra (*d*)

1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

X. XX. XXX. XL. L. LX. LXX. LXXX. CX.

(*a*) This word signifies *Arithmetic* in the lines below. See Tanner, Biblioth. pp. xxiv, xxv. and the Mirrour of Magistrates, p. 338.

(*b*) See *Variantes Lectiones* in M. Paris, ed. Watts, p. 835.

(*c*) This, methinks, shews he does not speak of our present arithmetical figures.

(*d*) Read *Cifra* for *Citra*.

sciendumque quod omnes lineæ a dextris stipitis dependentes, digitos, id est numerum simplicem signant, lineæ vero a sinistris numerum compositum, scilicet numeros gradales, ex quorum conjunctione surgit numerus superior. † Hæc omnium figurarum dignissima; quæ qualiter volvatur idem signat, scilicet, LV. quasi ab eterno provisa, ut formam haberet crucis domini Jesu Dei et Hominis crucifigendi. Unde multi Græcorum postea crediderunt. ^ Hæc similiter digna est quæ signat xxxiii. Tricesimo enim tertio a nativitate sua crucifixus est Jesus Christus: et dicitur propter ejus suam formam signum *Sagittæ*. Scriptum est enim, subito sa. c. rn.

* Hæc autem figura omnes numerales secundum Græcos figuras complectitur, * et omnibus literis est aptabilis. Unde multi tabelliones in Græcia ut celerius * notent, per illas figuras scribunt præfixis stipitibus. Memoratus, &c.

I think it probable, that Matthew learned this mode of reckoning from De Basing himself, who taught it to his acquaintance, of which number Matthew was one. However, these characters totally vary both from the Greek letters of Monsieur Huet, and the Indian digits; nor do I think they were ever generally used by the Greek nation; De Basing might meet with the invention there, and bring it with him to England as a pretty and ingenious device (*a*); but M. Paris, who knew little about these matters, is certainly mistaken in imagining, that the Greeks used any such contrivance in common.

(*a*) It may justly be admired for its simplicity, but could not so well be applied to the purposes of arithmetic as our present figures, because the similarity of the characters would subject us to perpetual, and sometimes important, mistakes. It would require a very nice and accurate pen in a writer, which disqualifies it for ready and common use.

A P P E N D I X, N° XII.

On the TESTAMENT of the TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

Bishop Groffeteste was firmly persuaded of the authenticity of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; he not only translated them into Latin from the Greek original; but, in a letter of his to king Henry III (*a*), he alleges the words of the *Testaments*, and argues from them as the undoubted word of God. ‘Hæc tamen unktionis prærogativa nullo modo regiam dignitatem præfert aut etiam æquiparat sacerdotali, aut etiam potestatem tribuit alicujus sacerdotalis officii: Judas namque filius Jacob princeps tribus regalis, distinguens inter se et fratrem suum Levi principem tribus sacerdotalis, ita ait, “Mihi dedit Dominus regnum et Levi sacerdotium, et subjecit regnum sacerdotis, mihi dedit quæ in terra, illi quæ sunt in cœlis, ut supereminet Dei sacerdotium regno quod est in terra.” Mr. Browne, the learned editor of the *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, was greatly puzzled with this quotation, which, no doubt, occasioned him a troublesome search; for, he comments upon it thus; ‘Cum ego lectori indicaverim tot S. Scripturæ locos, oro ut is mihi indicet hunc unum.’ This gentleman has, in fact, been very diligent in investigating the several passages of Scripture, either quoted, or alluded to, in the two volumes of the *Fasciculus*; but it was in vain for him to look for this passage in the Scriptures, as it is not there extant, but in the *Testaments*, where the words, in the bishop’s own version, are, ‘Mihi dedit Dominus regnum, et illi sacerdotium, et subjecit regnum sacerdotio. [Levi datum est sacerdotium, et Judæ regnum, et subjecit Deus regnum sacerdotio] mihi dedit quæ in terra, illi quæ sunt in cœlis. Ut supereminet cœlum terræ, ita supereminet Dei sacerdotium regno, quod est in terra (*b*).’ Dr. Fabricius very justly remarks on the words included within the hooks, ‘omissa sunt in utroque Latino, nec in Græcis codicibus habentur, quæ illis respondeant, ad marginem

(*a*) Brown’s *Fasciculus*, II. p. 394.

(*b*) Fabricius, *Cod. Apocryph. V. T. II.* p. 613.

‘ itaque ab aliquo adscripta, in textum deinde irrepserunt.’ This is, doubtless, the case; those words being entirely omitted by the bishop in his epistle to the king. However, on the other side, there is an error in the epistle, which may be amended from the edition of the *Testaments*: Instead of the words, ‘ Ut supereminet *cælum* *terræ ita supereminet* sacerdotium regno, quod est in terra.’ An error of the scribe; who, as frequently happens, casts his eye on the latter *supereminet*, and thereby omitted all the intervening words. However, I cannot but observe, upon the whole, that it is most amazing his lordship, when the canon of Scripture had been so long, and so authentically settled and sealed, and a prelate of his eminent learning could not but know it, could ever be deceived in a matter of such consequence.



P P E N D I X, N° XIII.

Paper shewn by the Canons of Lincoln in 1241.

M. Paris, p. 571.

‘ Cum ante conquestum *Angliæ* fuisset sedes episcopatus, qui nunc *Lincolniæ*, apud *Dorkecestriam*, et meritis episcopi tunc presidentis exigentibus, et locus a domino papa anathematizaretur, et episcopus deponeretur, vix remanserunt tantæ rei post multos annos vestigia, et sic desit tam sedes quam cura episcopalis tempore diuturno. Tempore igitur *Willielmi Rufi* regis *Angliæ*, filii *Willielmi* primi, destructæ fuerunt multæ ecclesiæ in *Nova Foresta*, ipso sic jubente. Sed tandem pœnitentia ductus, consilium salubre concepit in reconciliatione illius peccati jam dictum episcopatum nobilem restaurare et ampliare, et locum in melius commutare. Empta igitur quadam terra, vel commutata à quodam nobili, *M. de Gaunt*, qui cum patre suo venerat in Angliam ad Conquestum, et illam acceperat in sorte retributionis post victoriam, fundavit dictus *Willielmus* secundus ecclesiam, que nunc est *Lincolniæ*. Qua perfecta, vocavit duos cardinales legatos, qui accepta potestatis plenitudine super ordinationem episcopatus et ecclesiæ illius à domino papa affuerunt. Et convocatis octo archiepiscopis et sexdecim episcopis ordinari fecit solenniter nimis ipsam ecclesiam, et statui ejus canonicos, scilicet sæculares, et eorum redditus et portiones distingui et assignari, ut sub episcopo et decano ordinatè et honorificè sub certa disciplina in perpetuum deservirint, et permaneret ordinatio talis ac tanta, tot sanctorum patrum autoritate, apostolica quoque pagina communita, in perpetuum inviolabiliter duratura. Fuit autem ordinatio talis, quod episcopo ordinato, et canonicis in suis possessionibus constitutis, ex tunc ordinatè et disciplinatè Deo et ejusdem sacratissimæ matri nocte dieque deservirent. Quorum canonicorum si quis a tramite disciplinæ devia-
ret, et corruptus non corrigeretur, per decanum visitatus puniretur, nihil prius capitulum pertimens et increpationem in ipso factam. Si autem nec sic se corrigeret, privaretur per annum suo beneficio, vel per biennium, secundum quantitatem delicti. Quod si adhuc rebellis fuerit, advocaretur episcopus in adiutorium, ad coercendum induratum. Quod si adhuc obstinatus incorrigibiliter recalcitraret,

calcitraret, ipse rex privatum ab omni beneficio poena graviore puniat. Et cum omnibus talis ordinatio complacuisse, in scriptum redacta est, et apostolica auctoritate roborata, et inscripserunt (a). Et dedicata ecclesia, omnes qui presentes erant solenniter excommunicarunt (b) omnes hujus ordinationis perturbatores.

This is plainly no deed or instrument, but a narrative (or rather the substance of a narrative), without either author or date; but with an apparent intention of bringing the king into the cause, by making the church of Lincoln a royal foundation, and specifying his highness as the *dernier resort*. Of this, however, the canons themselves heartily repented, as Matthew Paris himself tells us (c). Matthew seems to believe this tale, at least he shews no marks of his disapprobation, and yet it totally differs from his own account of the foundation of the church of Lincoln (d). But we have seen before, that Matthew, for certain reasons, was a prejudiced man in the case, and too much inclined to favour the cause of the canons (e). But, dismissing Matthew, I shall here briefly shew, that the narrative abounds with falsehoods of every kind. First, it is pretended, that the pope cursed the city of Dorchester, and that there was no bishop there at the Norman Conquest; whereas Ulf was then bishop.

II. This author insinuates, that William Rufus made the New Forest; but see Ord. Vitalis, p. 781. Joh. Rossus, pp. 109, 111, who will tell you it was made by William the Conqueror.

III. It is said there was no cathedral at Lincoln till Rufus's time, contrary to all the faith of history.

IV. William Rufus is made to be the founder, in order to expiate his profaneness in making New Forest, though that forest was not made by him, but by his father (f), and the real founder of the church was bishop Remigius. M. Paris, p. 12. In the epitaph on William Deincourt, cousin and contemporary with Remigius, so generally known, it is expressly written, that the latter built the fabric of the church of Lincoln (g).

V. *M. de Gaunt* is made the son of Gilbert de Gaunt, who came hither with William the Conqueror, whereas the son's name was Walter (h).

VI. He talks of two papal legates being here in Rufus's time, but we find them no where else.

(a) Read, and point, *subscripserunt*, et dedicata ecclesia, &c.

(b) So I read for *communicarunt*.

(c) M. Paris, p. 572.

(d) Ibid. p. 12.

(e) See before, ad ann. 1241.

(f) Fox, Martyr, I. pp. 236, 245. Rossus, p. 109. Rapin, p. 117.

(g) See the account of this in Dugd. Bar. I. p. 356.

(h) Dugd. Bar. I. pp. 400, 402.

VII. He speaks of eight archbishops present at the dedication of the church ; but these must have sprung out of the ground.

VIII. The legates and prelates ordain nothing about any other members of the church, but the canons ; whilst their affairs, and all proceedings in regard to them, are settled most minutely, and exactly to this author's own mind. How absurd ! that nothing should be said concerning the dean, or the other great officers of the church, or the archdeacons.

IX. An appeal, in the last instance, is to be made to the king, who had never any thing to do with the church of Lincoln as a visitor. But you will say, it was a royal foundation. That he asserts, but nobody can believe it. However, I am of opinion, the paper was written and produced with a design of interesting the king in the cause, though his interposition did not at all answer the author's purpose. And I am farther of opinion, the narrative was compiled after the crown had taken it upon itself to be the supreme visitor of the royal foundations, St. Alban's, Battle abbey, &c. and, in all probability at this very time, A. D. 1241, by a hand both partial and ignorant.

On the whole, this paper betrays so much ignorance, that it must have been drawn up either by some of the lowest and meanest of the canons, or some worthless agent or other. It is, in the spirit of it, most wicked and unjust, and most scandalously ungrateful to the memories of their munificent founders, Remigius and Bloet, whose venerable names this blunderer does not once deign to mention on the occasion ; so outrageously is he transported with prejudice and rancour.

A P P E N D I X, N° XIV.

Disposal of Archdeacon and Prebends. Brown, p. 390.

Viro venerabili et in Christo fibi charissimo domino T. Robertus Dei gratiâ
Lincoln. Ecclesiæ Episcopus, salutem & sincerum in Domino dilectionis
affectum.

Credentes vos zelo fervere salutis animarum, ex desiderio salutis earum archidiaconatum de Huntingdon, et prebendam de Bugeden vobis contulimus; quæ beneficia suscipere occasione qua quondam recusastis prebendam de *Gretton*, recusare nunc non potestis. Est enim (benedictus Dominus) inter nos et capitulum nostrum pacis tranquillitas (a). Præterea, si zelum animarum et Dei amorem habetis, quos habere credimini, ea nullo modo recusabitis; cum in eisdem multipliciter amplius salutem animarum operari possitis, juvante salvatoris gratiâ, quam in curâ quam hætenus tenuistis. Sicut enim qui Deum diligit et sacrificium zeli quo non est Deo acceptabilius, offert ad ejus vocationem et ordinationem, oves suas pascit: sic, qui eum diligit et ut dictum est, ei offert sacrificium in minori cura, quasi super pauca fidelis inventus ab eodem ad majorem, ut supra multa constituatur, vocatus, ejus vocationem non obaudit (b): quod si faciat, in gaudium Domini non intrabit. Ne igitur convincamini Deum non diligere, sacrificium zeli non offerre, ac per hæc in gaudium Domini non fore intraturos; ne insuper nota inanis gloriæ verè vel verisimiliter vobis possit impingi, velut videri volentibus divitiarum et dignitatum habere contemptum; Dei amor, animarum zelus, spes æternæ remunerationis, nominis boni (quod melius est quam unguenta pretiosa) non contemnenda salvatio, sicut nec adquisitio vos Dei vocationem (non enim nos, sed Deus per nos qualescunque ejus ministros vos vocat) non obaudire sed humiliter exaudire compellant. Valete semper in Domino.

(a) This letter was written in 1245 or 1246.

(b) Sic est in MSS. debet fortè esse *vocationem non exaudit, obaudit.* Mr Brown.

A P P E N D I X, N° XV.

An Idea of the Venality of the Court of Rome, p. 172.

Honorius III. succeeded Innocent III. in the holy chair, in 1216, and was strongly inclined to tread in his steps. Platina, in his usual way, gives him a great character, saying, he led his life *in a blessed manner, and as became a careful and good shepherd*; but certainly, the popes of this century, though they made saints very plentifully, can hardly be adopted into the order themselves, the deposing of kings and emperors being so totally inconsistent with the character of Christ's vicars; and it may be worth while to try the sanctity of this pontiff in another particular, as follows.

Richard de Marisco (*a*) was consecrated bishop of Duresme in 1217, and, in 1220, was accused by the monks of his church of various crimes, but, being thoroughly practised in the world, and well knowing where to apply for exculpation, he set out for Rome. After he was gone, a power thence arrived, at the solicitation of the monks, to the bishops of Salisbury and Ely to repair to the city of Duresme, and there to enquire into the prelate's conduct. The crimes imputed to Richard by the monks, and found to be fact by the inquisitors, were astonishing, abominable, and even incredible (*b*): but yet, though the court of Rome was much prejudiced against him, he so far reconciled himself to it, by his obsequiousness and gifts (*c*), that he was cleared of the several charges brought against him, and even prevailed with his holiness, that the inquiry set on foot by the two bishops after his departure for Rome, and by his holiness's authority, should pass for nothing. The bishops, however, ignorant of all this, expedited their inquest to Rome, under their seals; by which the pope found he had been

(*a*) He had been a lawyer and pleader at the bar. West, Antiq. of Furness, p. 29. See more of him in Allan's Collectan. Dunelm. p. 457.

(*b*) Mirabilia, abominabilia, et fabulis annumeranda. Annal. Dunstap. p. 108.

(*c*) Devotionibus variis et muneribus. Ibidem.

deluded and circumvented by bishop Richard; but yet, says the historian, Honorius chose not to incur the imputation of fickleness and instability by reversing a sentence so solemnly passed in favour of Richard (a); which amounts to nothing less than this, that he was determined to sacrifice all truth and justice to the preservation of his own character, and the influence of the bribes he had received. But would it not have redounded infinitely more to his honour, if, from a principle of justice, he had instantly annulled a decision, which he saw had been fraudulently obtained? And, as to the sentence itself, why was his holiness so rash as to pass his judgement on the case, without waiting for the report of the prelates, whom he confided in, to examine the merits of it? Such precipitancy is a clear indication, that he had a violent presumption in his own breast of the badness of the bishop of Duresme's cause. And, in truth, the sense of the people here ran strong against Richard; for, my author, who was a by-stander and contemporary, relates, that though he thus practised upon the pope, yet he was undoubtedly guilty, for, says he, God struck him with an opthalmy before he left Rome. But, be this as it will, it was monstrous and barefaced partiality to disannul the report of the delegates before it arrived, and a plain demonstration, that Honorius, in this instance, was absolutely influenced by the force of money, of which the bishop of Duresme had been extremely lavish, involving himself and his church in such immense debts whilst he continued at court, partly for redeeming the vow he had made for going to Jerusalem, partly for the expences of his journey to Rome, and partly for the twentieth penny towards the crusade, that it was commonly said, *that for fifteen years after his death we might wait for a bishop of Duresme*. The second of these disbursements must needs be very great, as the two others could not be enormous. As to the saying, the meaning of it seems to have been, that nobody would accept of a see so incumbered, and, in truth, almost bankrupt (b); yet, when Richard died, in 1226, a successor was found, and in a reasonable time.

(a) Ib. p. 109.

(b) "Vulgo dicebatur, quod 15 annis post mortem suam *futurus erat* episcopus Dunelmensis," which otherwise may imply, that he, by thus engrossing and impignoring the revenues, would continue to be the bishop, even after his death; which comes to much the same thing.

A P P E N D I X, N° XVI.

The married English Prelates exculpated, for the bad Exchanges they made in respect of the Church-estate at the Reformation. Page 169.

Dr. Browne Willis was long of opinion (*a*), and seems to have retained it to the last (*b*), that the fatal alienations of the church lands, so generally made by our prelates at the dawn of the Reformation, and so prejudicial to the revenues of the respective sees, were entirely owing to their being married; by which he must mean to insinuate, and one can put no other construction upon it, that the marriage of prelates naturally leads to the impoverishment of the church, and, consequently, that it would be far better that their lordships should continue, and be obligated to continue, in a state of celibacy. It is remarkable, that in one place he endeavours to invalidate any arguments that may be brought against the celibacy of the clergy from the facts recorded in the Saxon times, observing, that ‘The first regular settlement of our clergy was since the Conquest, and their institution to parochial cures commenced chiefly then; so that what some authors plead of *their liberty to marry anciently* is of very little authority, if we consider the state of the church in its infancy, &c (*c*).’ which amounts to this, that the marriage of the clergy here in England was the effect, in those early days, of irregularity only, and was not permitted by the laws of the church; in which, however, he is undoubtedly mistaken. That I may lay nothing to the Doctor’s charge, who has deserved so well of the clergy of the establishment in so many other respects, but what can be fully proved against him in regard to his opinion abovementioned on the marriage of our protestant prelates, I shall here give you his own words. Speaking of the palaces and houses of the bishops of Lincoln bartered away at the æra of the Reformation, he says, ‘All which [palaces] except that of Lincoln, with about thirty

(*a*) Survey of the Cathedral of Bangor, dated 1720-1, pp. 322, 342, 343, 344.

(*b*) Survey of Cathedrals of York, &c. 1742, vol. I. pp. 33, 34. II. 35.

(*c*) Survey, &c. I. p. 33.

‘manors,

'manors, were *anno primo Edw. VI.* given up by bishop *Holbeck*, the *first married bishop*; who, *to raise a family*, and oblige some courtiers, parted with every thing, 'by way of exchange, for impropriations (*a*);' asserting in so many words, that the bishop conveyed away the palaces and manors merely for the sake of raising a family, and of obliging some courtiers, than which, in my opinion, nothing can be more censorious and unjust. It appears to me, that the Doctor's premises are absolutely wrong, and that he has assigned a cause of the alienations in the sixteenth century, which was by no means the true one.

First, the bishops had much trouble in making these exchanges with the crown, and did not all better their incomes by them; which does not look like serving or enriching a family.

Secondly, It does not appear, that the prelates received or pocketed any money on these occasions, so as to benefit their families that way. We meet with no instance of this; which certainly is very strange, supposing their lordships to be entirely governed by lucrative motives and family views, in the disadvantageous bargains which they made; for,

Thirdly, Many of their very best estates were surrendered, and, in general, what was granted to their lordships in lieu of them, was not an adequate compensation, which would never have been the case had they aimed solely at aggrandizing themselves or their families. If profit and advantage had been their inducement, they never would have passed away such a number of noble and rich manors for small impropriations (*b*) and insignificant advowsons, scattered far and wide over the whole extent of their dioceses.

Fourthly, Many of the prelates, that parted with their manors and lands, never had any children to provide for, and, consequently, could never think of advancing or building up a family (*c*); portioning of children was, certainly, no motive with these.

These things considered, the cause assigned by Dr. Willis for the bargains made by the Reformed prelates does not appear probable in the least; on the contrary, I take the matter of fact to have been quite otherwise, as I shall now endeavour to evince. To state the matter briefly, in the first place, I regard it as a case of *necessity* with the bishops, much like that whereby the abbats and priors were obliged to surrender their estates and houses at the Dissolution; an act, which many of them, no doubt, would gladly have declined, but could not avoid complying. Thus the bishop of Lichfield had a *mansion in le Strand*, rated at £.10 12 s. *per ann.*

(*a*) Survey of Cathedrals, II pp. 35, 63. He is very angry again with bishop Godwyn for not noticing the waste and spoil made by the married bishops in his book *De Præfulibus*; not considering, that his account of those bishops is extremely short, and by no means written at large, he scarcely doing more than just registering them in their proper places.

(*b*) This is really the case in respect of the see of Lincoln. Willis, II. p. 64

(*c*) Archbishop Cranmer, archbishop Holgate, Henry Holbeck, John Veysey, Nic. Ridley, Anth. Kitchin. John Birde was married, but quere if he had any children. John Poynt.

in 1534, which was *torn* from the see, as Dr. Plume expresses it (a) in the reign of Edward VI. by the duke of Somerset, to make room for the building of Somerset-house in the Strand; and Sir William Dugdale observes upon it, that 'many well-disposed minds *conceived a very hard opinion of him* [the duke of Somerset] for causing a church (b) near Strand-bridge, and two bishops houses (c), 'to be pulled down, to make a seat for his new building called Somerset-house (d).' We may depend upon it, the bishops of Lichfield and Worcester, then sitting, were averse to parting with their London houses, so convenient for them when they came to town to attend parliament, but were required and obliged to relinquish them.

As to bishop Holbech in particular, he might well be the first married bishop of Lincoln, since the permission of marriage to our prelates only took place about that time. He had been a monk, and prior of Worcester, and, joining with king Henry VIII. in his measures for promoting the Reformation, was by him made the first dean of Worcester, and bishop of Rochester; so that by marrying he appears to have acted according to his own principles, which were agreeable to those of the king. In this, he only made use of his Christian liberty as Cranmer had done before, who, even after his second marriage, was advanced to the primacy of Canterbury by that king. The assertion, that Holbech parted with his palaces and manors for the purpose of *raising a family*, destroys itself, since, as we have shewn, such a step would rather tend to depauperate it, if he had any; but I cannot learn that this bishop had any children. He had a wife, who survived him, but no issue, at least none are mentioned in his will (e). If one should be disposed to give a sinister turn to the bishop's transactions with the crown in respect of the alienations, one might rather surmise, that as the exchanges were made so soon after his promotion to Lincoln, before he had been a month in possession, the courtiers had made some stipulations with him in the king's minority about them. Dr. Willis intimates something like this himself, and as if he would not have been translated from Rochester to Lincoln had he not yielded to their terms? But why did he yield, it may be asked, to such opprobrious terms (f). I answer, though I do not excuse him, because it was the prescribed, the unavoidable, condition of his translation, and that, had he refused complying with the proposals, another person would soon have been found that would have accepted them. Holgate, archbishop of York, was forced to come into some bad exchanges, even in the life-time of Henry VIII.

(a) St. Mary le Strand stood before on the South side of the Strand. Maitland, p. 1346, and not in the middle of the street as it now does.

(b) Lichfield house and Worcester house. Fuller in Church Hist. book VII. p. 410, says there were three bishops houses pulled down at this time, Landaff being the third. And see Maitland, p. 1346.

(c) Dugd. Baron. II. p. 363.

(d) Dr. Plume, Life of Bishop Hacket, p. xxxv.

(e) Willis, II. p. 64.

(f) Idem, ibidem, p. 63.

which, I presume, ought to be ascribed to the like previous stipulations, and not to his being a married man, since, as I believe, he had no children (a).

To return now to the business of force and compulsion, which, in some shape or other, had the principal share in these ruinous transactions, I will here transcribe the words of Anthony Harmer on the subject, than whom one can desire no better judge (b). Speaking of John Veysey, the great alienator at Exeter, who by the way was not a married man, but a concealed Papist, he writes, 'Had any bishop of *England* sat at *Exeter* at that time, he must have done the same thing, or have been immediately deprived. For Veysey alienated no possessions of his see, but upon express command of the king directed to him under the privy seal in favour of certain noblemen and courtiers. All the bishops at that time were subject to a like calamity, even *Cranmer* was forced to part with the better half of the possessions of his see; and *Ridley*, soon after his entry into *London*, was forced to give away the four best manors of his see for ever in one day. These two were the greatest favourites amongst all the bishops in that reign. Others were yet more severely dealt with. The common pretence was, to exchange some lands of their bishopricks with others of religious houses remaining in the king's hands since their suppression. Even then it was such an exchange as *Diomedes* made with *Ajax*. But to Veysey no other recompense was made than the promise of the king's good will and favour assured to him, in the conclusion of all those mandates, in case of compliance with them; the effect of which promises was, that after he had complied with them, to the ruin of his see, he was forced to resign it, *per metum et terrorem*, as himself afterwards alleged. All he could do was to enregister at length all those privy seals for the vindication of himself to his successors for ever, which he hath carefully done (c)." Mr. Wharton observes the same in respect of Robert Wharton, bishop of St. Asaph. Relating, first, that he was an egregious dilapidator of his see, he then adds, 'Vitia id hominis scriptorum vulgus acceptum refert. Forsitan autem verius adscribendum esset temporis iniquitati, quæ eousque tunc invaluit, ut prædia ac redditus sedium episcopaliū, episcopis etiam frustra renitentibus, invaserit, ac juris privati fecerit (d).' So, when James Pilkington, in 1561, received the temporalities of the see of Durham, queen Elizabeth retained eight considerable manors (e), fully evidencing, that though the rash and hasty may incline to charge Pilkington with alienations, this was a forced measure, a *sine qua non*, and, in fact, a real depre-

(a) Godwyn de Præsul. p. 710, in annotat.

(b) This is Henry Wharton, A. M. the letters of Anthony Harmer forming, when transposed, that name, but without the *W*, which, whether it was done by design or not, I cannot say; but if you read *Wharmer* all will be right. Willis, in Survey of St. Asaph, p. 38, styles him, *the great Mr. Wharton*; and it must be acknowledged, that his authority is very considerable in these matters.

(c) Anth. Harmer, Specimen of Errors in Hist. of Reform, p. 100.

(d) H. Wharton, de Episc. Assav.

(e) Willis, Surv. of Cathed. pp. 228, 245. Appendix to Notes on Flodden Field, p. 110.

dation on the fee. This appears farther from the prelate's conduct, for, being an active man, he got most of these manors restored on certain terms (*a*). We must look farther, therefore, for the ravages and devastations committed upon the patrimony of the church than the marriage of the bishops, which is not a cause general and extensive enough, according to our fourth observation above. They may be resolved, I think, with far more certainty, into the iniquity of the times, as Mr. Wharton has put it, in the last quotation; both princes and people, the nobles especially, being disposed, from the great aversion they had to Popery, by which they had suffered so much, to regard the wealth and power of the prelates with an envious eye, though most unreasonably and unjustly. Dr. Willis will tell you himself, that queen Elizabeth imposed a payment of 1000*l.* *per ann.* on the bishops of Durham, for the purpose of maintaining the garrison of Berwick upon Tweed (*b*); and she did it, it is said, in a fit of envy and jealousy, because bishop Pilkington had presumed to give 10,000*l.* with his daughter in marriage (*c*), a sum equal to her own fortune as a princess.

(*a*) Strype, Annals of Reform. II. p. 296, seq. Willis, p. 228. Appendix to Notes on Flodden Field, p. 110. Pilkington was not a man to give up any rights and possessions. See Godwyn de Præsul. p. 746. Authors are unanimous in giving this prelate a good character. See Strype, p. 295.

(*b*) Willis, I. pp. 228, 247. See also Notes on Flodden Field, p. 112.

(*c*) Lambe's Notes on Flodden Field, p. 13. This, author, however, has greatly mistaken this matter, p. 48, where he says, 'The church, in queen Elizabeth's reign, suffered great injuries, principally caused by the strict attention of *many avaricious bishops* to the world.' And, again, speaking of bishop Fletcher, 'He gave such exorbitant leases of the lands of it [the see of Bristol], that he left little to his successors, insomuch that, after his removal thence, it lay vacant for ten years. He was a favourite of the queen. She once found fault with him for cutting his beard too short; whereas, good lady, she would have reproached him secretly for cutting his bishoprick so short, if she had known it.' The queen was not ignorant of things done by her own connivance and direction. See Mr. Lambe's own account of Thomas Godwyn, bishop of Bath and Wells, p. 49; and of Francis Godwyn, bishop of Hereford, p. 51.

A P P E N D I X, N° XVII.

Bishop GROSSETESTE *a Lover of Music.*

From Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry.

Robert de Brunne made an English version, or rather paraphrase, of Robert Grosseteste's book, intituled *Manuel Peche*, written in French; and thence Mr. Wharton has given us the following very curious extract;

Y shall you tell as I have herd
Of the byfshop feynt Roberd,
His toname (a) is Grofsteft,
Of Lyncolne, fo feyth the gefte.
He lovede moche to here the harpe,
For mans witte yt makyth fharpe;
Next hys chamber, befyde his ftudy,
Hys harper's chamber was faft theby.
Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
He hadd folace of notes and layes.
One askede hem the refun why
He hadde delyte in mynftrelfy?
He answerde hym on thys manere
Why he helde the harpe fo dere:
"The vertu of the harp, thurgh fkytle and ryght
"Wyll deftrye the fendys (b) myght,

(a) Surname. See Robert Brunne's Chron. p. 168, "Thei cald hi this toname, &c." Fr.
"Est furnomez, &c."
(b) The Devil's.

"And

" And to the cros by gode fkeyl
 " Ys the harpe lykened weyl.—
 " Thirefore, gode men, ye shall lere,
 " When ye any gleman (*a*) here,
 " To worshepe God at your power,
 " And Davyd in the fauter,
 " Yn harpe and tabour and symphan glee (*b*),
 " Worship God in trumpes and sautre :
 " Yn cordes (*c*), yn organes, and bells ringyng,
 " Yn all these worship the hevene kyng, &c.

(*a*) Harper, Minstrel.

(*b*) Chaucer, Rhyme of Sir Thopas, v. 3321. Urr. edit. p. 135.

Here wounith the queene of fairie,
 With harpe, and pipe, and simponie.

(*c*) Meaning, I suppose, clavicords.

A P P E N D I X, N° XVIII.

Narrative of the attack made upon the Foreign Incumbents in 1231; when, by the vigorous exertion of Sir Roger de Thwenge, the Advowsons of the Lay-Patrons were assured to them.

The Italians beneficed in England were become both numerous (*a*), and very insolent, and there ensued frequent disturbances from this cause; even certain letters from some great persons were dispatched to the bishops and chapters exciting them to rise up in revenge; the letters contained a complaint that the popes and their legates (*b*) had preferred their creatures to benefices, to the great prejudice of the kingdom, and the invasion of their rights, who were the true and legal patrons, but were inhibited, on pain of suspension, to collate any native till five Romans, who yet were not so much as named, were provided with livings to the amount of one hundred pounds *per annum*; that they even despoiled incumbents of their benefices at pleasure, and without any just cause, for the purpose of bestowing their preferments on foreigners. In short, that it was more eligible to die, than live under such intolerable oppression, &c. They were therefore commanded not to assist the foreigners against those persons, who should either attack them or invade their property, on pain of having their own goods burnt and destroyed (*c*).

A like instrument was sent to the religious houses, and others, who farmed benefices of the foreigners; for, it must be observed, that very few of the Italian incumbents resided here. That, indeed, would be to little purpose, since, as they knew nothing of the language of the country, they could not in the least be serviceable to their flocks as teachers. The purport and meaning of this injunction was, to hinder the farmers from making any farther payments to foreigners, but to

(*a*) Nicolas, the legate, had preferred many. M. Paris, p. 247. And Johannes, arch-deacon of Richmond, who died in 1256, engrossed many benefices himself, p. 921. See more of him below.

(*b*) See Note 1.

(*c*) M. Paris, p. 371.

keep the money, and pay it to an agent, to be appointed on Monday after Mid-lent Sunday; and it was enforced under the same penalty as the other to the bishops and chapters.

The lords intended to have it understood, that these letters came from the king; for, the first is said to have issued *de communi consilio*, and the latter *de communi consilio magnatum* (a); but he, however, was not privy to them (b). They were sealed with a new device, viz. of two swords, betwixt which was written in Latin, *behold here are two swords* (c).

These missives were in effect blowing the trumpet of insurrection and sedition, for which no other excuse can be made, but that, as the letters set forth, the evil was become intolerable; and, in fact, overt acts immediately followed these invitations (d); for, at a grand assembly of ecclesiastics at St. Albans, 16 November next, for the purpose of deciding a cause of divorce between the countess of Essex and her husband, by authority of the pope, one Cincio (e), a Roman clerk, canon of St. Paul's, was seized not far from St. Albans, and carried off by some armed men in masks; but John Florentine (f), archdeacon of Norwich, had the good fortune to escape, and concealed himself in London for sometime. Cincio was detained five weeks, and made to pay smartly.

At Christmas, the full barns of a Roman at Wingham (g) were plundered by some masks in arms, and employed, as was supposed, by the combination. Upon this, the agent of the absent incumbent made his complaint to the sheriff, who sent his officers and some neighbouring knights to enquire into the matter; and when they came to the place they found that those strange men, who by that time had pretty well emptied the barns, had sold the corn cheap, to the benefit and advantage of the neighbourhood, and had given away some to the poor; and, when the knights questioned them about their proceedings, and this infraction of the peace, the masked men took them apart, and shewed them the king's letters patents, as they called them, prohibiting all persons from giving them any disturbance or molestation, and upon that the officers and knights withdrew; and thus, after the masks had continued there fifteen days, and disposed of every thing, they went away.

(a) I suspect that *magnatum* is omitted by mistake in the former letter.

(b) Hence M. Paris, p. 372, calls them *adulterinæ et sophisticæ*.

(c) Luke xxii. 38.

(d) One cannot but observe how readily the monks, pretending to be sequestered from all worldly business, engaged in any thing where there was a penny to be gotten.

(e) Some relation, probably, of the late pope Honorius III.

(f) His true name was *Ferentine*. Le Neve, p. 117, who yet, p. 321, calls him *John de Florentio*.

(g) In Kent, I presume, it being at this time a rectory. The bishop of London, indeed, interposes, but that might be as he was dean of the province, the see of Canterbury being at this time void. I do not find, however, that the Kentish Antiquaries take any notice of this incident at Wingham.

When Roger, bishop of London (*a*), heard of this outrage, he convened ten bishops at St. Paul's, and excommunicated all that were concerned in it, as also those who before had assaulted Cincio, together with the concealed abettors and instigators of the riot, the artificers who made the seal, and the scribes who wrote the letters (*b*). And yet all this severity did not exculpate the bishop; for, he was accused, amongst others, at length, of being concerned in selling the corn of the Roman incumbents, and was actually forced to go to Rome to purge himself, where, after much trouble, he was made to pay a round sum (*c*); and yet Roger was a man of spirit and resolution (*d*).

The barns of the Romans were pillaged much in the same manner all over England by armed men in disguise, who were called *Lewythiel* (*e*); and the corn was sold at a low rate, by which many were benefited. The same work was resumed again at Easter, when the insurgents did what they pleased, distributing the corn amongst the poor, often throwing money amongst them, and bidding them gather it. As for the Italian clerks, they hid themselves in the monasteries, scarce daring to utter a murmur, and rather chusing to lose their fortunes than to run the hazard of their lives. There were about eighty of these bravados, sometimes fewer, and they had for their head one William Witham (*f*) (whose true name was Robert de Thinge (*g*), a knight, and a man of valour), and his directions they obeyed in every thing.

When the pope heard of these disorders, he was excessively enraged, and wrote to the king in a sharp reproachful style, for suffering such ravages in the kingdom, contrary to the tenor of his coronation-oath, whereby he was bound to maintain the peace of the church, and to administer justice both to clergy and laity; he enjoined him, on pain of excommunication, and of an interdict, to make the strictest enquiry possible after the offenders, and to punish such as he could find in a manner so severe as might be a terror to the rest. The pope also commanded the bishop of Winchester, and the abbat of St. Edmundsbury (Richard de Insula or de Ely), to promote the like inquisition in the South, and to excommunicate all they found guilty until they should come to Rome to be absolved by the holy see;

(*a*) See of Canterbury was vacant.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 372.

(*c*) ———— 384.

(*d*) ———— 379, 387, 388.

(*e*) ———— in Addit. p. 152. Dr. Watts durst not attempt to explain the meaning of this term; perhaps it may be a corruption of *Witham*, or *Wither*, which, as we shall see, was the assumed name of their leader.

(*f*) He is called *Wither* below. To *wither* is now used in the North for *to throw about hastily, or in passion*.

(*g*) *Thuinge*. M. Paris, p. 513. *Tuing*, p. 375, in var Lect. *Tuinge*, p. 537. *Twinge*. Annal Dunstap. p. 208. There was a good family of the name of *Thwenge*, which is the truth, in the North. Dugd. Bar. II. p. 37. West, Antiq. of Furness, p. 41. Hutchinson, History of Durham, II. p. 793. The Annals of Burton seem to call him Robert de Scardel, p. 280; but quere, if this be the same person, as the business there spoken of happened in 1227?

and as for the Northern parts, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, and John canon of York, who was himself a Roman (*a*), were required to do the same there.

When this affair came to be scrutinized by the king, the bishops, and the other commissioners, an infinity of people were involved in the crime, either as principals or abettors; some bishops, some of the king's clerks, some archdeacons and deans, with knights and laymen in abundance; some sheriffs and their officers were seized and imprisoned on the same account, whilst others, conscious of guilt, saved themselves by flight. Even Hubert de Burgo, the grand justiciary, was convicted of having granted to the levellers the king's letters patent and his own, forbidding any person to oppose them; and this was one of the charges brought against Hubert afterwards, when he was dismissed from his office (*b*), and he was provoked, it is said, to take his revenge on the Romans by the pope's directing him and his wife to be divorced on account of her high birth (*c*). Hubert, however, cleared himself of the charge, by alleging, that, inquisition having been made into this business by the pope's authority, it appeared he was innocent; for, had he been an accessory, his holiness would certainly have punished him for it, which he did not (*d*). To go on; Robert de Thing, among the rest, was brought before the king, a person of a good family in the North, a genteel young man, and a valiant knight; he had taken a sham name, as noted above, had been concerned with others in disposing of the corn, and had in his retinue five armed men. He confessed he had acted what he had done out of hatred to the Romans, from a spirit of revenge, for their endeavouring fraudulently to deprive him, by the pope's sentence, of the only church he had in his gift; adding, that he would rather stand excommunicate for a term, than be so robbed of his benefice. This church was Luthunum (*e*), in the diocese of York, to which, when Robert, on the death of the incumbent, presented his clerk, the archbishop told him he could not admit him; for, he had the pope's orders to confer the benefice on another person, and had it not in his power to relieve him, nor would he oppose the holy see (*f*). There was a particular hardship in the case; for, the living had been given to an Italian before; and the holy see had given assurance, that, when a Roman or *Italian* incumbent died, and the turn was served, the advowson should revert to the old and legal patron; whereas, in the present case, one foreigner was to succeed another, to the perpetual exclusion of the patron, and the annihilation of his right.

The king, and the other inquisitors, advised Robert, upon his excommunication, to go immediately to Rome, and to assert his right before the pope, by averring,

(*a*) This was Johannes Romanus. Willis, I. 95. He died in 1256. M. Paris, p. 291, and was a different person from John Romane, archbishop of York.

(*b*) M. Paris, p. 376.

(*c*) Occasione illius parentelæ. M. Paris, Addit. p. 152. She was daughter of William king of Scots. Dugd. Bar. I. p. 696.

(*d*) M. Paris, Addit. p. 152.

(*e*) Now called *Lytham*. Dugd. Bar. II. p. 37. It is in Lancashire, and Chester diocese. Bacon's Liber Regis, 1723.

(*f*) M. Paris, p. 513.

that

that he possessed it justly and canonically. The king gave him letters testimonial concerning this, and recommended him to his holiness for a favourable audience. Robert also carried with him some spirited letters from the great men, particularly of the dioceses of Coventry and Winchester, who, making Robert's case their own, complained how grossly they were abused by being deprived, through the greediness of the Romans, of their patronages, and of that just right of advowson they had in churches endowed by their ancestors (*a*), which, at the command of the pope, were conferred on foreigners, to whose persons and qualifications they were entire strangers. They desired all their cases might be determined in this Robert's, *viz.* whether they were to be thus unjustly despoiled of their patrimonies, and the right of presenting clerks to their own churches, and obeyed his injunction, in the case of Robert, to the archbishop of York, to admit the said Robert's clerk, notwithstanding any former mandate; and this, in his holiness refused to do, they should be obliged, they said, to seek to the king for redress of the advowsons appertained to those fees for which they owed him service, and the king was engaged to right and protect them (*b*). In short, this matter, from a small beginning, was grown to a vast magnitude, and was become a general national grievance.

The rescript, which the pope sent in answer to this conjunct and powerful application, is addressed to Richard earl of Cornwall, whence it should seem, he had been one of the Remonstrators (*c*). However, his holiness, pretending he knew not that the rectory belonged to a layman, did Robert justice, by revoking his former mandate to the archbishop, and enjoining him to institute his presentee; and then comes this general clause; 'Let not any one, under pretext of the Papal authority, collate, henceforward, the churches belonging to laymen, on any persons but whom they shall nominate and present.' Thus the application had its full effect, in regard to lay-patrons, but the rectories of the ecclesiastics and religious, which were numerous, continued still liable to Papal incursions and collations; and M. Paris inveighs against the partiality, *viz.* that the pope should spare the rectories of laymen, and only prey upon those of the ecclesiastics (*d*).

(*a*) M. Paris, p. 513.

(*b*) Ibidem.

(*c*) The clergy regarded them as their best bulwark against the alien incumbents, and, indeed, against all the foreigners. M. Paris, p. 526. Robert de Thing, after this, seems to have been a great man with the earl; he was in his retinue at Marseilles, when he went on his expedition to the Holy Land, and was sent by him, along with others, to the emperor as his nuncio, or ambassador, p. 537.

(*d*) M. Paris, pp. 513, 514, 780.

A P P E N D I X, N° XIX*.

Writ of Privy Seal addressed by Edward I. to the Pope, for the Canonization of Robert, Bishop of Lincoln. A. D. 1307. Referred to p. 218.

Sanctissimo in Christo Patri Domino C. divina providentia sacro sanctæ Romanæ ac universalis ecclesiæ summo pontifici Edwardus ejusdem gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. devota pedum oscula beatorum; sedis Apostolicæ prudentia circumspecta, quæ, actibus intenta saluberrimis & operibus exposita pietatis, solerter exequitur quæ sunt Dei ad divini nominis honorem & gloriam, ac exaltationem catholicæ fidei, salutemque fidelium, merito censuit riteque providit ut quos triumphantis ecclesiæ regio gloriosa (post devictum consummatumque certamen triforme, mundi, carnis, spiritusque maligni) cœlestis beatitudinis efficit possessores cura solers ecclesiæ militantis laudando & glorificando in terris, digne venerationis officio prosequatur, quatenus eorum suffragiis, & patrociniis apud Deum qui est gloriosus in sanctis suis & in sua majestate terribilis inter mundanos conflictus & turbines adjuvetur.

Felicis itaque memoriæ Robertus quondam Lincolnienſis episcopus, Dei famulus, vir utique in ergastulo carnis positus, excellens meritis, vitæ sanctitate præclarus, & velut stella matutina in medio nebulæ & quasi lucerna non sub modio set super candelabrum posita sparsit aliis lumen sapientiæ & doctrinæ in domo Domini virtutum jubare adeo choruscando; quod tandem in divini nominis confessione legitime certans et contra mundum, carnem, & dæmonem triumphans, athleta non degener, confessor inclitus, & virtutum opifex, pastor bonus in populo, cursum vitæ perlustrantem miraculis vires & potentiam naturæ excedentibus feliciter consummavit, de peregrino civis cœlestis effectus & bonorum confessorum agminibus aggregatus. Hæc de ipso agnita nobili tenet ecclesia Anglicana; hæc pontificalis narrat auctoritas; hæc memoria seniorum retinet; clerus indicat; militia meminit; testatur populus; & omnis utriusque sexus ætas recenter quodammodo, velut a patribus nuntiata filiis, recordatur.

* From Rymer's Fœdera.

Dignum igitur æstimantes & congruum tam reverendum virum debere condign in terris attolli præconiis quem in coelis cives sanctorum & domestici Dei gloriantur honorant, ac ipse sanctorum Dominus stola gloriæ redimitum ad Paradisi januam coronavit: Beatitudini vestræ humiliter duximus supplicandum quatenus nunciis pro canonizatione præfati episcopi obtinenda ad vestræ sanctitatis præsentiam accedentibus juxta formam qua sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia in consimili negotio uti consueverat, benignam dignemini, si placet, audientiam gratiosis affectibus exhibere, ut, per promeritæ canonizationis eventum idem episcopus per Apostolicæ sedis gratiam ascribi valeat beatorum cathalogo confessorum; sicque ipse ut sanctus honoretur in terris & glorificetur altissimus in excelsis. Conservet vos Altissimus, &c.

Dat. apud Karl. 6 die Maii.

(Rot. Rom. 35 E. I. m. 2.)

As bishop Grosseteste was so great a writer, and must have been a person of great dispatch in penmanship, some may be desirous of seeing his hand-writing; and, to gratify their curiosity, a fac-simile of it has been procured from a MS. in the Bodleian library, acknowledged by the best judges to be an autograph.

Omno Angli duor oghu ladi ex
cyelis magno ope. Angli or latius
lau or Eleo. (Tote Angli. ab & lada
ab & or Tha tut potto polo na f. d. d. a

Qu p. d. i. c. a. n. t. ex d. i. c. t. i. s. ex m. e. d. i. a. b. z. d. i. o.
ex p. r. o. u. b. z. d. i. o. p. m. a. g. n. o. r. a. g. a. n. d. a. u.
t. r. a. n. g. l. i. u. o. r. o. r. f. a. c. i. m. d. i. e. d. u. o. a. y. o. r. s.
g. a. n. p. o. t. e. o. r. p. a. n. v. i. n. u. t. a. n. g. l. i. u.
t. a. t. i. p. i. o. r. m. m. o. r. o. g. d. u. o. b. z. a. y. a. d. i. z. t. r. a. u.
g. u. l. i. r. e. l. i. g. i. o. (T. p. d. i. c. t. i. s. a. d. a. p. o. s. t. o. l. i. c. o. b. o.
e. d. a. y. a. b. z. o. r. i. b. z. d. i. o. g. a. t. a. a. d. a. a. r.

Longman & Co.

A D.

ADDENDUM to APPENDIX, N° VIII.

From Mr. NICHOLS's COLLECTIONS for LEICESTERSHIRE, p. 546.

' Bishop Grossthead, consecrated bishop of Lincoln 1234, had a great abhorrence of this corruption. He looked upon appropriations as robbing God of his honour, the priest of his maintenance, and the people of their very souls, and laboured to restore all tythes to the parochial clergy. He consolidated the vicarage with the rectory in many churches.' See also on this subject, the concise account of Bishop Grosseteste's life, and of his intimate connexion with the contemporary earl of Leicester, in the same gentleman's History of Leicestershire, shortly to be published, pp. 122, *seq.* of which, by his special favour, I have lately had the perusal.

Note *d*, p. 212. The late Mr. Simpson, in a letter to me, 1760, says of the draft of this tomb, by Sedgewick, in lord Hatton's library: "The book is mislaid or lost, as a gentleman informs me who has frequently examined the library for it." Mr. S. adds, "Dr. Mason can furnish you with a long list of the Bishop's works, preserved in Trinity college library, particularly a treatise on the Sphere, which I have seen and transcribed for him when I was a student there."

The seal of bishop Grosseteste, mentioned page 216, is appendant to a composition made between the vicar of St. Peter in the East at Oxford, and the abbess and convent of Godstow, with respect to the tythes of Wulgaricot*, within the said parish of St. Peter. This confirmation is dated at Godstow, on the feast of St. Barnabas, 1239, and is under the seal of Robert (Grossthead) bishop of Lincoln, in which diocese Oxford then was. The deed is a remarkably neat one.

* Q. Wolvercote?

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 55, line 6 from bottom, *for the*
read at

79, note, l. 1. *insert preb. before of*

86, l. 15, *read though this*

105, l. 7, *for Winchester read Wor-*
cester

118, note (b) *for jocare read focare*

127, l. 16, *insert though before this*

137, l. 4 from bottom, *read Scalby*

166, l. 17, *read impoverishing*

174, l. 14, *read imprudence*

178, note, l. 10. *after this*

228, note, l. 2. *read immunitatum*

294, l. 4, *insert so before singular*

239, l. 11, *for printed read painted*

302, l. 4, *for will be read has been*

303, notes, l. 1, *read See above*

308, l. 8, *for will be read has been*

Ibid. l. 9, *for below read above*

310, l. 21, *for shall read have*

Ibid. *for mention read mentioned*

324, l. 11, *insert is before given*

327, l. 5, *for Tinmanston read Til-*
manston

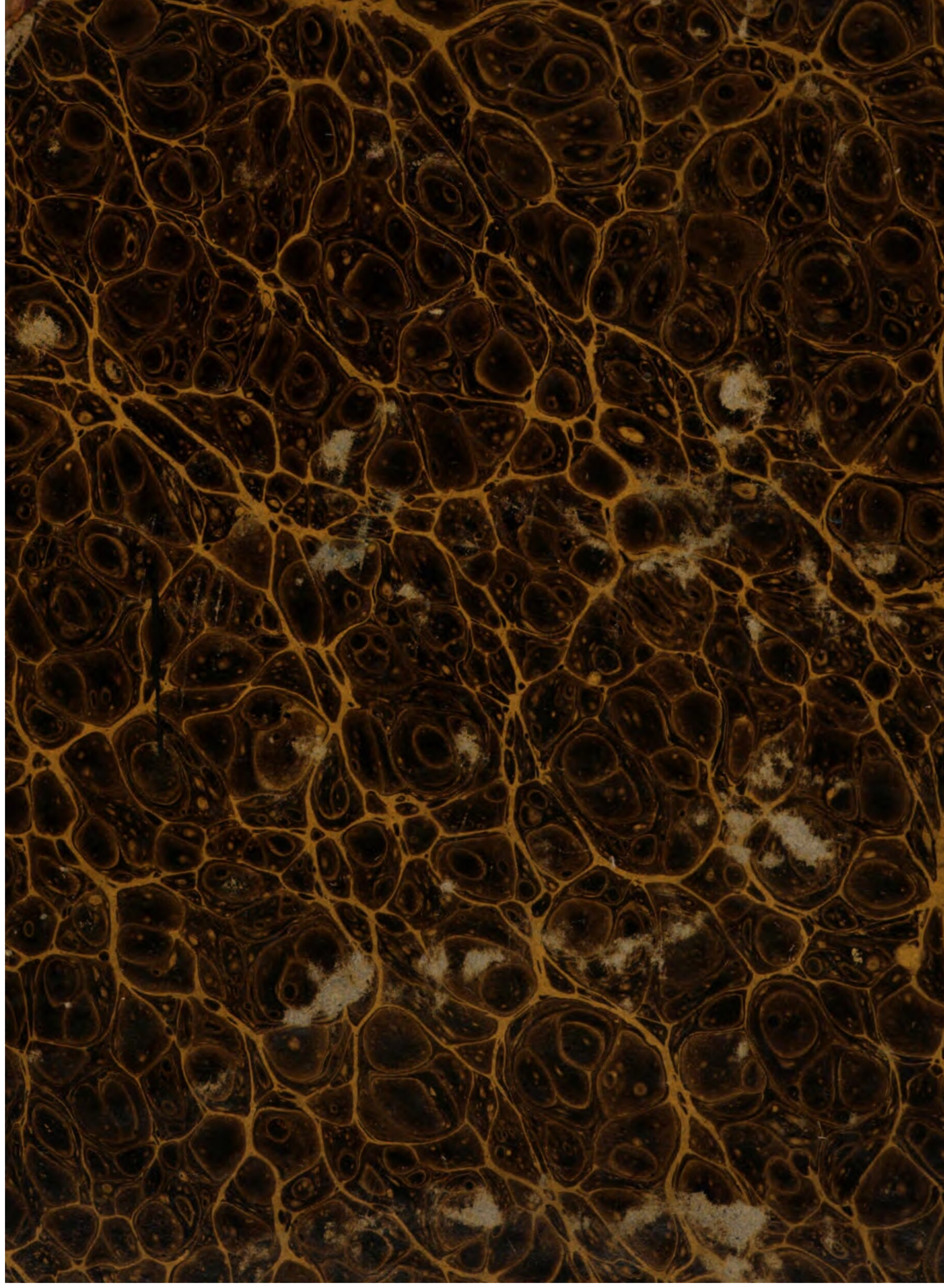
331, l. 11 from bottom, *for Eton r.*
Etendon

335, l. 13, *for son read soon*

337, l. 4, *for Bront. I suppose we*
may correct Brom. i. e. Bromley,
in the county of Stafford.

*** This Volume contains Two Plates, both properly paged, besides the Fac
Simile in page 370.





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